NANTUCKET MONTHLY

MEETING

BY

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PREFACE

Why Nantucket? Melville did justice to whaling in Moby Dick (and in other works). As a summer resort the Island is, if anything, too popularized. Notwithstanding, the essence of the "far away" island tantalizes those who know it even very well. What was it that was so admired by St. John Crevecoeur - as he stated Nantucket to be the prototype of life to which all men everywhere would eventually tend?

The Letters of an American Farmer were written in the third quarter of the 18th century, early on in that quarter in fact. They describe an English Colonial Settlement in process of population explosion: - yet a community which made the sea its third dimension in order to survive and flourish - as must mankind just two centuries later. Nantucket was anything but parochial or provincial, yet it upheld simplicity, industry and a sound (if frightfully complex) family life. Central to its comprehension was the influence of Quakerism. Half or more than half its inhabitants during the 18th century were members of the Society of Friends. The great meetinghouse in Crevecoeur's day held 2,000 attenders: and in summer was filled twice on Sundays and once on Thursdays. Hundreds of Quaker weddings initiated hundreds of new Quaker households. There was a Congregational Church, relatively small in comparison (even though belonging to the State supported ecclesiastical body of the Province of Massachusetts - later State), but the non-Quaker "half" of Nantucket was steeped in the Quaker atmosphere, so much so that mostly they instinctively avoided other churchly approaches.

Moby Dick, of course, was written in the mid-19th century, when, for a multitude of reasons, the Quaker ethic was fading on the Island. Quakerism was then like Cap'n Ahab headed toward

suicidal catastrophy, and therefor not contemporaneously understood as regards its original values in the 18th century. Since 1850 the descendants of the original settlers (all Quaker descended) are found in attendence at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society in the last of the Quaker meetinghouses, to wonder among other things, how that religion could ever have had relevence. All they recall is the charicature which their grandparents so wisely rejected. As far as I know, no one of them in over 35 years has ever attended the Quaker Meetings for Worship held by "summer people" in the same Fair Street Meetinghouse. Quakerism is as dead to them as is the whaling industry. It is perhaps significant that the last whaler to leave Nantucker Harbor did so just a century ago (1869).

In our day Edouard Stackpole, one time Curator of the Mystic (Conn.) Whaling Village, and now President of the Nantucket Historical Society, has rescued whaling from Melville and put it into sound historical perspective. It is now time to rescue the short life of Nantucket, particularly its 18th century configuration - when as Crevecoeur insists, it was sound. To do this I have read the extensive manuscript records of the Nantucket Quaker Meeting - only returned to the Island a quarter century ago. Using these as central to the story I have attempted to reconstruct (using whatever historical data is available) the life on the Island. As practically no extensive Journal or Diary materials survive, the job is not easy.

However certain generalizations emerge from such painstaking research. First, there is the proposition that Quakerism was as uniquely suited to the dangerous lonely life on the sea, as it was to the homely round of pleasant social communication in the community - that it bred an 18th century version of internationalism unique to its time, and faithful to the vision of

George Fox, the Quaker founder and William Penn, the Quaker colonizer. Today come Quakers insist that a community of 50 is the maximum for effective worship and service to the community. The Nantucket Meeting was 10, 20 or even 30 times as large, without losing its cutting edge.

On the negative side (at least from a Quaker point of view) Nantucket Quakerism was uniquely insular. The islanders decided to become Quakers, after a half century on the Island; and a century ago most of them decided to leave Quakerism behind. Those who stayed on the Island never fully merged their religious identity with the world-wide (or British-wide) Quakerism of their day. Neither did their outlook on property - particularly that of the Common Land, find resolution by the Quaker ethic. Nantucket whaling was built by cooperative investment - a voluntary form of practical socialism which worked in an expanding monopoly. The Quaker Meeting encouraged this island-wide activity. But its very productivity led to the erection of barriers against off-islanders. In the end the ethno-centricity of Nantucket corrupted even the Quaker ethic. Not unrelated to its central problem of property - vs - humanity was the Island's treatment of its dwindling Indian community. There an unresolved conflict brought tightening repression - despite the Indians' invaluable assistance as whalers - till the Island had to turn elsewhere for men to equipp their vessels. Even more sobering was the cruelty inherent in the killing of the great sea mammals. Was it possible that sensitive pacifists could subsist for more than a century on such a bloody livelihood? At any rate when the wholesale sickening slaughter of defense-less seals became an important side-industry, the Meeting was already well on its way to disappearance.

These are some of the considerations which make it worth while to undertake to portray what might be called the reverse side of Melville's popularization in Moby Dick, and that which Ed. Stackpole has so skilfully salvaged in his Sea Hunters.

Robert J. Leach,
Geneva, Switzerland, 1969.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
ON NANTUCKET

AN INTRODUCTION

One day the History of Quakers will be told by careful reporting on their extensive records. Very probably a good many "sacred cows" will get smashed in the process, for to date all Quaker history is impressionistic. Generalizations about such phenomena as Quietism and its cure are obviously not securely based. The main question is where to begin the epic work of rewriting the story. For me as an American, albeit expatriate and resident in Europe, Nantucket offers one useful focal point of approach. Nantucket Quakers, thanks to whaling, were as international as any equivalent group of people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Some even settled in France and later in Wales. They had the advantage of living apart on an island which they dominated. In fact they caught the imagination of St. John Crevecoeur, who looked upon Nantucket Quakerism as a reborn Eden. This interpretation probably helped Benjamin Franklin play the role of a successful diplomat at Versailles. It must be remembered that one of Franklin's Folger uncles was one of the first Nantucket Quakers. And though we may dislike Franklin's calculated pseudo-Quaker pose in Paris, the popularity it engendered, helped tip the scales toward effective American independence through the French Alliance of 1778.

Another reason for choosing Nantucket is that the community there in the 18th century literally underwent what we call "population explosion" today. Thus the story is perhaps unexpectedly in line with twentieth century preoccupations.

Finally the Island embodies a classic struggle between an idealistic ethic and a this-worldly preoccupation with safe-guarding wealth. Now it may seem unrealistic to begin a history of Quakerism a half-century after the founding of the Society of Friends, however, for most English speaking people the heroic age of Quaker suffering is almost as alien to us, as that of apostolic Christianity. Nantucket had roots in persecution, it turns out, anyway. Furthermore the Meeting on Nantucket reacted to all the nineteenth century Quaker dissentions, in fact virtually collapsed from as dizzy a peak of success as could have been imagined. Behind the Quaker gray of the Island lying off Cape Cod, there was enacted a quality of drama equal to Melville's saga of the Great White Whale. And its origins on Rhode Island and Cape Cod extended back to the first fine tentative outbreak of the Quaker movement. The first generation of New England Friends were still alive and able to transmute the original fire to the Meeting on Nantucket when it was formed. This they did. So from Nantucket it is possible to reach out and back to founders. Probably George Fox, the organizer of the Quaker movement never heard of Nantucket, but there is every reason to believe his widow, Margaret Fox, did. In fact Margaret's death nearly coincided with the convincement to Quaker principles of another woman, Mary Starbuck, who more than anyone else founded the Nantucket Meeting.

One last reason for selecting Nantucket for beginning a Quaker study is that of all English speaking communities dating from the 18th century, it is the best preserved. Whole streets of Quaker residences survive intact. As it is possible to visit the actual place as it was, so it should be possible to recreate at least partially the evolution of its development, by this literary device.

Before turning to the history itself a certain structural background both Quaker and Govermental must be sketched in, in order for the framework to be clear. The English Colonies in America were founded by Proprietors who were granted their rights by the Crown. In the case of New England, the famous Plymouth Company of 1606 was the proprietary agent. The Massachusetts Colony was a derivative of the Plymouth group established in 1628. In turn dissedents from Massachusetts set up a squatter proprietary in Providence in 1636, and at Newport another in 1638. These were joined together in 1644, and given recognition by Parliament which was in process of usurping the Crown. A parallel development had occurred at Plymouth among the Pilgrims of 1620 - a squatter colony was accepted and regulated by the Council of New England (successor to the Plymouth Company) in 1628. By 1636 nothing remained of the Council's lands but some New England islands. These were conveyed to the Earl of Sterling in that year. He in turn erected a proprietary for Thomas Mayhew in 1642 for the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Mayhew did the same for Thomas Macy, his cousin, for Nantucket in 1659. In 1662 the Crown placed the Macy and Mayhew Proprietaries under the Duke of York, as patentee of New York and New Jersey. At the same time the charters of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode Island were confirmed among others - by the restored Crown. It should be pointed out that although Plymouth was a government built upon essential religious toleration, that of Massachusetts was intolerantly Puritan. Boston went so far as to hang Quakers on Boston Common for the temerity of daring to sully its bigoted religious atmosphere. Thomas Macy and his associates were, in fact, so opposed to Massachusetts' religious intolerance that they undertook their Nantucket settlement as one way of escaping its baneful influences. The government of Thomas Mayhew, while

sufficiently Puritan to deport Quakers, was otherwise of the tolerant stripe of Plymouth. Certainly Mayhew had no qualms in granting Nantucket to men who openly criticized Boston. Rhode Island and Providence Plantations was a government devoted not only to toleration, but the notion of complete separation of Church and State - an ideal embraced by the Nantucket settlement.

Now the government of the Duke of York was obliged to embrace a similar position, as the majority of settlers in his mainland provinces were Dutch Reformed Calvinists, and he was in fact a Roman Catholic. What happened after 1662 on Nantucket had less to do with religion than with the conflict which most American colonial groups suffered when newcomers objected to the monopoly of political and economic power concentrated in the hands of original proprietors. Actually the whole proprietary frame-work was antiquated - in fact a feudal hang-over from medieval vassalage. On Nantucket the struggle between the proprietors and the new men was particularly severe, partly because the liberal religious leader on Martha's Vineyard Peter Folger (Franklin's grandfather) threw in his lot with the church-less community, and partly because New York control was temporarily severed by the Dutch reconquest of Manhattan in 1674. In the ensuing struggle Macy lined up with Folger against the stand-pat element among the proprietors, whose spokesman was Tristram Coffin, patriarch of that family.

Nantucket politics were next swept into the wider maelstrom of the political struggle by which Governor Andros attempted to create a Vice-royalty for all the Northern Colonies. The re-chartering of Sherburne Town on Nantucket Island dates from Andros' attempt to bring about a new Modus vivendi between the contending parties in 1687. In effect the "new men" won political control while the economic power remained with Coffin

and his associates and heirs. The collapse of the Dominion of New England which was brought about by the "Glorious Revolution" in England in 1688, made orphans as it were of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. In the re-confirmation of charters which the revolution necessitated, Plymouth and the Island were annexed to Massachusetts, which was, however, kept under the control of a Governor appointed by the Crown in Council in Parliament.

Quakerism made its appearance in 1656 in New England, that is three years before the Nantucket settlement was envisaged. Already in Sandwich on Cape Cod in Plymouth Colony a group of liberal Puritans had withdrawn from the Puritan church there. Within the year these seekers had organized Sandwich Monthly Meeting of Friends. Similarly the seeker group which appeared simultaneously with the founding of Newport in 1638 and dominated Rhode Island from 1647 onwards, transformed itself into Rhode Island Monthly Meeting in 1657. These two Quaker settlements became the progenitors of a whole series of other groups of Friends - which except for Pembroke near Plymouth, Salem near Boston, and Dover in New Hampshire, remained parts of the two original monthly meetings, till the end of the century. In 1661 a General Meeting of New England Friends was formed in Newport, apparently to transact business of a common order. Already one such Meeting had been held in England, in 1660. Friends on Long Island, whose meetings dated from the Dutch regime took part in the 1661 gathering. Soon after that Charles II intervened through his personal envoy (a Quaker) to stop Massachusetts from its bloody course of Quaker persecution. Thus in the next twenty years the Quaker movement consolidated itself in New England. Specifically Sandwich Friends started "colonies" in Dartmouth, Falmouth and Yarmouth, that is on the coastal waters directly facing Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

In 1683 London Yearly Meeting of Friends (the official superior Quaker body in England) agreed that Philadelphia Friends assume a similar status to its own. William Penn who was responsible both for this move and the founding of Pennsylvania (two years earlier) wanted Philadelphia's authority to extend over the shole seabord. New England Friends whose corporate life had extended over twenty years, and included domination of Rhode Island's Colonial Government during that time, were quite unwilling to accept this arrangement. They therefor transformed their General Yearly Meeting into the third independent Yearly Meeting. And they set up two Quarterly Meetings, one for Long Island, the other for New England itself, in 1683.

The next important step was the creation of an independent Yearly Meeting on Long Island in 1695, an act which implied reorganization of New England Quakerism. This latter was achieved four years later when Friends on the western shore of Narragansett Bay became Greenwich Monthly Meeting, while those eastward to Buzzards Bay (mostly in the previous area of Plymouth Colony) became Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. These with Rhode Island established Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in that year (1699). The original New England Quarterly Meeting then divided in 1705, the northern part becoming known as Salem and in 1706 the southern part as Sandwich.

Meanwhile the tide of reorganizing Quakerism had swept out to Nantucket. Previous to 1696, the Town Clerk of Sherburne Town on the Island was a bitterly anti-Quaker Puritan - as against Friends as he had been opposed to the Coffin establishmant. After 1696 town affairs were directed by the urbane heir of an English Baron, while a daughter of the leading mercantile family on the Island married a Quaker of Dartmouth. One year before Dartmouth achieved Monthly Meeting status

Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway acted as guide to the first official delegation of Friends to Nantucket. The church-less community received them warmly, thus initiating a habit of hospitality which grew stronger through the years, and in 1704 led to the founding of a Meeting for Worship on the Island, and to Nantucket Monthly Meeting in 1708. Naturally considering that Dartmouth belonged to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting it was to that body that the new Meeting was attached. Thus the Quaker story began on the Island.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 1.

ORIGINS

The Society of Friends (Quakers) antedated the white settlement of the island of Nantucket, and was in fact the main motivation for its colonization - albeit in a somewhat indirect manner. George Fox, the original Quaker, discovered his religious vocation during the 1640s - that is toward the conclusion of the English Civil War; which eventually put Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Party into power. At that time Nantucket belonged to the Proprietary of Thomas Mayhew, also a Puritan, who had purchased the Island with that of Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands (all lying south of Cape Cod) from the heirs of the Earl of Sterling - in turn holder of these islands and others - once the Council for New England had been disolved. Mayhew brought settlers to Martha's Vineyard, made peace with some squatters who had moved on to the Island about 1630, and achieved his niche in history as the first Puritan to attempt to convert the local Indians to Christianity, rather than to undertake their extermination.

Meanwhile George Fox developed a corporate Christian mysticism, which he envisaged as redeeming all outward forms and ceremonies associated with the various denominations which ranged from Roman Catholic to Anabaptist. Tens of thousands of Englishmen were ready for his message - many already associated together in the Seeker movement. This fellowship had also made its appearance in America. As early as 1640 Sandwich on

Cape Cod (part of Plymouth Colony) was so oriented. And on Rhode Island the famous Ann Hutchinson helped establish a similar settlement at Newport. It is significant that the first two Quaker Meetings in America were precisely Sandwich and Rhode Island Monthly Meetings. They date from 1657 and 1658 respectively. The first of Fox's associates to arrive in America appeared in Boston (and in Maryland) in 1656.

Quakerism was resented by both the established Anglican Church and its Puritanical rivals - the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. Each believed that its own orientation was uniquely sound. Formlessness, egalitarianism, and Quaker perfectionist pretensions were abhorent to both major parties - to say nothing of Quaker pacifism in the midst of bloody civil strife. Cromwell himself however respected Fox - members of the Protector's household actually joined the Society of Friends. But the theocratic Puritan government of Massachusetts Bay Colony, had no doubt but that Quakers were ensnared by Satan. Whipping, branding and hanging were the statuatory punishments decreed in 1658 to discourage the visit of Fox's disciples. Even those who sheltered the Quakers out of a "mistaken" sense of humanity, were fined for each hour during which the visitor darkened the doorstep. Several Quakers were actually hanged on Boston Common, including Mary Dyer, a niece of Ann Hutchinson's, who had returned to Boston after being whipped out of the Colony.

Naturally some Massachusetts settlers regarded such an incredible law with the repugnance which it merited. Among these was a merchant of Boston by the name of Samuel Stattuck. He was deported to London in 1659, where he not only embraced the new religion, but pursuaded King Charles II (crowned in 1660) to disallow the anti-Quaker laws. The King had showed personal magnanimity toward the regicides (of his father), and as an official Anglican was glad to take action against the Puritan

extremists - where justified. So he sent Shattuck to Boston as his personal ambassador to disallow the anti-Quaker laws. It happened that Samuel Shattuck's sister, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner also became a Friend. Seven years later with her husband Capt. Richard Gardner, non-Quaker, and their family, she emigrated to Nantucket in 1667, to become the second resident Quaker on the Island. Thus the family around which crystallized effective opposition to Boston's anti-Quaker persecution, early associated itself with the "far away" island (as its Indians called Nantucket).

The first Quaker to go however, to live on Nantucket was John Swain, a north shore settler, who was fined for entertaining Quakers, and then disenfranchized, for showing evidence of supporting the Quaker point of view. This was in 1658. Also fined was Thomas Macy, a cousin of Gov. Mayhew. Not being able to forsee the King's missive of 1660, Swain and Macy and several others who disagreed fundimentally with such fierce persecution, visited Gov. Mayhew in 1659, in order to negotiate the purchase of the island of Nantucket. In Old Town (later Edgartown) they met Peter Folger. Minister of the Puritan Church in that place, wh spoke the native Algonquin speech. With him they visited Nantucket, buying from the Indians of that island the right to settle near Madaket Harbor. John Swain spent several weeks in the summer of 1659 on the Island - the first Quaker to do so.

The permanent settlement took place only in 1661, after formal arrangements were made for a Proprietary to be set up, and for purchase arrangements to be concluded with Thomas Mayhew. In this case the Governor took care to act as the first of ten full share-holders - each to select a partner, thus making twenty in all. It was also agreed that ten more half share proprietors should be selected to introduce particular livelihoods. Thus a total of 25 full participant votes was envisaged. In point of fact some full share owners remained off-island, some

full share owners received additional half-shares for introducing needed handicrafts, while the envisaged complement was never completed. Thus proxy voting, plus a marked disequilibrium among the owners made for friction. In 1664 sheep raising was introduced. This proved unusually well adapted to the mild year usually enjoyed on Nantucket. In consequence proprietary shares were redefined as allowing for specific quotas of sheep. Eventually cows, horses and pig quotas followed, with elaborate equivalences contrived between and among animals permitted. As sheep were the most frequent domestic animal encountered one sheep came to represent the smallest unit in proprietary rights. These rights, known as "sheep commons", were sold or inherited for well over a century. They represented the basic right for sharing in the wealth of the Island. As sheep shearing was so profitable, the Proprietary tended to keep as much of the Island (as they could purchase from the Indians), as common and undivided land. Fee simple holdings were objected to in principle - except for house lots. In fact the "Proprietary of the Common and Undivided Land" on Nantucket still exists and still controls all the shores and ponds on the Island!

Not only was John Swain a full share proprietor, but also his father Richard Swain. Even so the Swains never played a leading role in the early years of the settlement - except that in this anti-clerical island, John apparently sometimes led the community worship on Sundays and Thursdays which was their custom. More often, Thomas Macy took charge as he was a Baptist lay preacher. He too was a full share owner, as was his associate, Edward Starbuck, similarly a Baptist lay preacher. Five of the full shares belonged to Tristram Coffin (or to his family). He was therefor the most important settler. Probably Coffin was the main financial backer of the settlement, possibly because he was a Puritan who saw eye to eye with Gov. Mayhew. Coffin's

associated full share owner (who thus controlled a sixth share) was Edward Starbuck's son, Nathaniel Starbuck. This man was Tristram's own son-in-law. He and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck were the first couple married on Nantucket (naturally without benefit of clergy). Forty years later the Nantucket Friends Meeting was quite as naturally born in their home. Mary - the "great" Mary Starbuck of legend - was to become a Quaker in 1702, to be followed by her husband eight years later. No others of the original proprietors became Quakers. Thus it is clear that Quakerism appeared on Nantucket as an organized force only as the third generation of white settlers on that island were coming into control. Curiously in 1664 (even before Sarah Gardner appeared), and just as sheep raising was introduced, a Quaker missionary Jane Stokes visited. She had become, however, a follower of one John Perrot, who was a thorough-going religious anarchist, so that Jane did not urge the setting up of a Quaker Meeting as such. A decade later, incidentally, she abandoned Perrotism, and became a responsible Quaker member on the island of Jamaica, where she died shortly afterwards.

Apparently no other Quaker visitors appeared on Nantucket, despite the nearness of Sandwich on Cape Cod. Some Sandwich Friends did try to contact the settlers of Martha's Vineyard but these were promptly deported by Gov. Mayhew. It was enough for him to put up with the electarian Baptist community at Madaket Harbor, particularly as Peter Folger, whom he had sent over at Coffin's request to preach at frequent intervals, soon embraced their Anabaptist doctrines, and resigned his Edgartown pastorate in 1664, to remove to Newport. There Folger met many Quakers. In fact the annual assembly of New England and New York Quakers had been started in Newport in 1660. However impressed Folger was with Quakerism, he was admitted to the Baptist Ministry in that place, and was then asked to emigrate to Nantucket to open

a blacksmith's shop and to assume the main leadership of the religious life of the Island community - but without pay. By 1665 Peter Folger was a key figure on Nantucket - bringing with him fluency in Latin - in short to originate a classical strain which would for generations re-appear on the Island scene. Folger re-baptized Mary Starbuck, who thus indicated her alienation from her father's Puritan faith: but this may have occurred between 1681 and 1690 (that is after Tristram's death, but naturally before Peter's).

The accession of Charles II not only eased the situation for Quakers, but led to enquiry into all colonial patents. Apparently Mayhew's grant was made in the name of Charles I - but the totality of three small islands could hardly compare with even New Haven which was forced to merge with Hartford. Thus in 1664 when Nieuw Amsterdam fell, the new Ducal grant was written in such a way as to include Long Island and all the other islands south of Cape Cod. Mayhew's colony (including Nantucket) became a part of New York. Apparently no change occurred in the Proprietary Government on the "far away" island. Two years later in 1667 Capt. Richard Gardner came on to introduce a sloop for assuring regular mainland connections.

In 1671 however Mayhew got a Baron's title and lifetime right to head up a patroonship court under the New York authority for the islands. The Proprietary on Nantucket was allowed the selection of a chief magistrate - which naturally went to Tristram Coffin. Salted fish as quit-rents were required, so that Capt. Richard Gardner's brother John, was brought on to the Island to introduce the cod fishery. John Gardner, though a much stronger Puritan than Richard, was thoroughly unhappy at Coffin's economic and political strangle-hold on the Island. In 1673 he successfully petitioned New York to set up the Town of Sherburne for Nantucket,

in order, among other things, to cut down Coffin's proxy votes in the Proprietary. Mayhew tried to stop Gardner (although ironically Edgartown later accepted Mayhew's Manor Patent as constituting the origins of that town.)

Then in 1674 New York was actually recaptured by the Dutch, in a military action frequently overlooked in American colonial history. Repersussions on the two islands were grave as might have been expected, they were rudderless. On Martha's Vineyard an abortive revolution led by Simon Athern tried to create a town on the democratic lines apparently firmly established by John Gardner on Nantucket. But the old Proprietary on Nantucket had no intention of allowing Gardner any long term success. In the midst of the interregnum there arrived on Nantucket a most prickly personality, one Stephen Hussey; the heir of an absentee full share owner. Hussey had spent a good many years on Barbadoes as a lawyer. Toward the end of his residence there he had apparently met none other than George Fox, the Quaker founder himself, who was undertaking a tour of the English colonies in America. Hussey became a Quaker, and in 1673 was arrested in Boston for promoting Quaker ideas. Rather naturally Stephen Hussey was inclined to dislike John Gardner's puritanism, and to favor the Proprietary, in which he represented his father. On one accasion the town records observe that Hussey rudely told Gardner "to meddle with your own busynesse". Upon the restoration of the Duke of York's Government on the Hudson, Hussey appeared as the first of a series of emissaries to influence acting Governor Edmond Andros in favor of the Proprietary. Others favoring the town appeared. Mayhew naturally played his role in promoting the original government on both islands.

Thus Nantucket underwent a "bloodless revolution" which lasted from 1674 to 1678, during which time family was divided against family and friend against friend. For instance Coffin

put pressure on Nathaniel Starbuck to bring his son-in-law away from the liberal influence of Edward Starbuck. Mary Starbuck was obviously in the center of the conflict, as her ideas were fundimentally liberal - but her family tendencies were autocratic. And as she kept the Indian trading post which also served as the town's mercantile headquarters, she could hardly escape the continous excitement which the times brought.

The incidence of King Philip's Indian War in 1675 had a great effect on the far-away Island - in fact doubled its white population, as families, kin or otherwise allied personalities, fled to the safety of a community whose Indian neighbors were friendly and at least as on the Vineyard, partly Christianized. Among the oncomers were naturally a number of hitherto absentee full share proprietors - chief of whom was Mary Starbuck's brother, Peter Coffin.- Chief Justice of the Colony of New Hampshire. Though it was contended that a citizen and official of another colony he could hardly rightly so act.

The Indian War afforded an opportunity as well for the more bigotted of Boston's Calvinists to publish a pamphlet entitled Balm in Gilead, which undertook to prove the thesis that the war had been visited by God upon Massachusetts as punishment because the colony had been too lax in prosecuting Quakers and Baptists. This singularly obscurantist point of view led Peter Folger to reply with his Looking Glass for the Times (the first work ever published by a Nantucketer). In his pamphlet Folger stated that "the Spirit of the Lord which is our highest light" (an almost Quaker doctrine) indicated that Puritan inhumanity toward the Indians was the real cause of the war. The Puritans of course, ne noted, had been angered by the Quaker book, New England judged in the Spirit of the Lord, which attacked a paid ministry. Finally Folger indicated that the magistrates should

not meddle in matters concerning religion. This pamphlet was sufficiently highly regarded in Quaker circles to be republished in 1724 by Dartmouth Monthly Meeting with explicit approval of the Yearly Meeting. Three subsequent Quaker republications have occurred - in 1763, in 1883, and in 1940.

But Folger's Looking Glass infuriated Judge Coffin, who, as a Puritan magistrate, did consider religious matters his province. Furthermore Folger had become Clerk of Sherburne Town, and in this capacity had refused to hand over records, which included those of the original Proprietary. During 1676 several stormy town meeting sessions were held - Stephen Hussey proving especially disagreeable - and early in 1677, Peter Folger was thrown into the jail (hitherto a pigsty), fined and disenfranchized. It would seem that since the founding of Nantucket, the wheel had turned a full 360° - shades of Quaker persecutions! - and conditions worsened. Richard and Sarah Gardner were hauled before the magistrates for expression sympathy for Folger - and she received a public admonition. Others were even more forcefully disciplined. So bitter became feelings, that half the community attended Divine Service in the jail yard - with Peter Folger preaching from his prison window!

The Nantucket Indians then became restive, claiming to have been cheated when their original deeds of land sales were confirmed in 1661. John Swain, who had been present at the original purchases in 1659, now wrote Andros (in company with Tristram Coffin) that it was believed that John Gardner had burned the Indian deeds, as he was interested in a new Indian policy (in fact had been plying the aborigines with liquor) to buy lands. Gardner next admitted to having secreted the deeds, and was immediately fined by the Chief Magistrate.

But all the action taken against Folger and Gardner (and

others) was declared "null and void" by Gov. Andros - who could hardly be expected to take sides in such a complex issue. The Proprietary was confirmed in its power, although it was agreed that private citizens might buy additional Indian lands. Paradoxically the man who took full advantage of this new permission was the Quaker lawyer, Stephen Hussey.

Matthew Mayhew the Harvard-trained grandson of the old governor, thereupon persuaded the liberated and forgiven Folger-Gardner duo to hand over their secreted papers. Then followed a series of conferences between the Proprietary and town officials which went far to settle both theoretical and actual rights. Even the Indians were pacified. John Gardner insisted on his receiving, surveying and putting up for sale the lands he had purchased in what is now Nantucket Town. In fact this real estate venture makes him the originator of the present village. In 1678 the settlement was to be found lying on an axis between Capaum Harbor (later Pond) and Hummock Pond. Madaket Harbor had proved too shallow and exposed to westerly winds. Many areas privately acquired were then transmitted to the Proprietary in return for sheep commons. In fact all these papers were revalued. And Stephen Hussey's land promotion plans were halted. More important, the values of half shares were raised to two-thirds of a full share, the balance payable in sheep commons. Thus the town proponents got a fuller share of public wealth without deflating the grants of the original owners - a neat trick in itself. Naturally in town meetings each citizen was confirmed with a single vote - while the Proprietary remained under the control of Coffin and his associates.

Thus looking back over the twenty years to 1658, one discovers at that time an anti-Quaker law, which would lead to the founding of Nantucket - and the first to-be Nantucket Quaker, already a member of the Society of Friends - John Swain. Ten years

afterwards in 1668 the original Madaket settlement was moving to Capaum Pond, sheeping raising was proving valuable; while Nathaniel Starbuck had opened his second emporium in the new location. The authority of the Colony of New York had been established; and Sarah Gardner had become the second Quaker resident on the Island. In 1678 a bloodless revolution had proved the mettle of Benjamin Franklin's maternal grandfather: Peter Folger, and foreshadowned the building of the present town. A third Quaker resident, Stephen Hussey, had settled in - marrying later than most colonials did. By 1688 a number of basic developments would have taken place - not least the passing of Thomas Mayhew, also his cousin Thomas Macy, and for good measure the first magistrate, Tristram Coffin.

Before this, however, John Gardner was able to topple Coffin from the position of power which he had held since the founding of the settlement. In 1679 Gardner managed to get himself appointed Assistant Magistrate over the protests of both Coffin and Mayhew. The next year Gardner manouevered his appointment as one of a four man Admiralty Court to enquire into Tristram Coffin's failure to report salvage from a privateer wrecked in 1680 on the south shore. The old man came close to being the second white man to be locked up in the jail, and naturally was replaced by Gardner as Chief Magistrate before the year was out. It was, however, time for the pushy captain to show magnanimity. And as seemed to be his capacity, John Gardner won Gov. Andros over to dismissing the case, and remitting the fine which the Admiralty Court had placed upon Tristram Coffin. In fact Coffin died in 1681 not only as a "loving neighbor" of the successful revolutionary, but as <u>his</u> Assistant Magistrate.

In 1681 the Sandwich Quakers swarmed; some to the Bass River on the middle Cape (Yarmouth), others towards Woods Hole(Falmouth). In so doing a group of them also proposed visiting Nantucket, to

see if a third prong would be in order. To this John Gardner gave a blanket veto. In fact he managed to keep off any "foreign" Quaker till ~~in~~ 1696 when he gave up his sixteen year tenure as the leading Nantucket citizen.

At Gov. Mayhew's death in 1682, John Gardner and James Coffin, Tristram's second son, applied for certification to preside over the Patroonship Court (1671) when held on Nantucket. It would appear that Judge Coffin spent the years from 1679 to 1690 partly in New Hampshire - partly on the Island. In any case he encouraged his brother James - who had apparently never quarrelled with Gardner, to enter into harness with him. The application for Gardner and the younger Coffin was granted in 1685. Two years later the Proprietary received a charter from Governor Dongan (who had replaced Andros), which terminated the original 1661 Government (as amended in 1671), by transferring judicial functions to the Court of Dukes County (with similar rearrangements on Martha's Vineyard). The Trustees of the Proprietary were henceforward to act as the Selectmen of the town - seven in number. John Gardner then ceased his activity as Chief Magistrate, only to continue it as Clerk of both Town and Proprietary.

There then intervened the "glorious revolution" of 1688 in the homeland by which the House of Orange succeeded to the English throne. The reverberations in the colonies were great, and naturally felt on Nantucket, as the exiled King James was in fact the chief Proprietor of the colony of New York. Again as at the Restoration of 1660, colonial titles received examination. Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth both lost their essentially republican status, to be merged into the Royal Colony of Massachusetts. And as New York likewise became royal; its farthest eastward County of Dukes County was transferred to the care of the new government in Boston. The New York government

did not accept this easily, and for nearly a half century plagued the Nantucket Proprietary for the quit-rents which it pretended were its due. By 1691, however, the order for transfer had been accepted on the islands. A year later James Coffin took his seat in the General Court (or Legislature) in Puritan Boston.

Meanwhile in 1690 both Edward Starbuck and Peter Folger died, so that the Island had no lay preachers left (except John Swain). From 1690 to 1704 a series of Baptist ministers came and went; quite obviously dissatisfied not to be paid salaries and therefor also proved themselves unsatisfactory to the islanders. There were also some Puritan missionaries who tried unsuccessfully to establish a parish on the Island. Mary Starbuck found herself the principle adviser in things religious - inheritor as it were of the mantle of Peter Folger.

1690 also proved a turning point, for Ichabod Paddack, a Quaker of Barnstable on Cape Cod, was brought over temporarily, to develop shore whaling techniques. These were already practised by the Indians in a rudimentary way. The aborigines certainly played a full role in the industry, based as it was on four beach juridisdictions from 1690 to 1712. Nantucket was now developing a subsidiary source of wealth which would in time far outdistance its sheep filled moors.

The so-called "oldest house", the Jethro Coffin residence on Sunset Hill was built in 1686 by Judge Coffin for his Puritan son, who married a Puritan daughter of John Gardner, to demonstrate if anything that puritanism could prove a solid basis of compromise between Proprietary and Town. The house gives clue to the type of dwelling the "better sort" possessed at the time whaling began[1]. There are other houses standing in Nantucket Town as old or older, but they have all been transformed - for the most part in the migration of the settlement from Capaum Pond

to the Great Harbor in the 1720s. In any case it is clear that ostentatious wealth was conspicious by its absence.

All the earliest governmental activities apparently took place in the residence of Tristram Coffin; who made his home with his daughter, the great Mary and her husband. In 1675 a town house was built near NO Bottom Pond. It was subsequently used as a school; Peter Folger's eldest son, Eleazer Folger, acting as teacher. So it was about 1690 that the town subsidized the building of a large residence for Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck, to be used as a Parliament House, a Fort, and Trading Post to house the Starbuck Emporium. This property is now probably that on Upper Main Street known as the "Tobey House", moved to its present location in 1726. (The original town house apparently was allowed to fall to pieces in the early years of the 18th century.)

Finally in 1698 a second and much larger Parliament House was built by the town for similar purposes as the first, and occupied by the first family - the Starbucks, till their bachelor son Barnabas removed to Newport in 1722. This property was then sold by the town, as a second town house had been built in 1717, explicitly for governmental activities. The second Parliament House as now enlarged stands near the present Baptist Church and is known as the "Austin House".

It was in the first Parliament House, (after 1699 the residence of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr.) in 1695 that Nantucket County was separated off from the County of Dukes County - over the protests, it should be added, of Matthew Mayhew, who claimed intermarriage on Nantucket was so excessive as to prevent the formation of an objective jury. Also in 1695 there was sufficient money available to purchase a sloop, the Society, capable of assuring regular trips to Boston.

From 1695 to 1698, when the first official Quaker visitors

began their regular visits to Nantucket, a few third generation Nantucketers married off-island, and into the Quaker settlements of Yarmouth and Dartmouth (founded 1696 on the further shore of Buzzards Bay). In 1696 (the later Sir) William Gayer, who had married a sister of Nathaniel Starbuck, and come on to the Island during King Philip's War, succeeded John Gardner as Clerk of Town and Proprietary. Gayer was certainly open to Quaker influence. In fact two of his sisters-in-law, who lived in Dover, N.H., had become Quakers, one of these Sarah (Starbuck) Austin had become a Quaker Minister. Both his daughters would embrace her religion, and one of them, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, would serve the women Friends of Nantucket as their Clerk for no less than 35 years.

Also, in 1696, Hephzibah Starbuck, the youngest of Nathaniel and the great Mary's brood, married Thomas Hathaway, a Quaker of Dartmouth. She would become, like her Aunt, Sarah Austin, a Minister before long. And she saw to it that the Quaker world at large learned about the churchless community of Nantucket. Capt. Hathaway often transported Quaker visitors from the farther shore of Buzzards Bay. For it took ten years from 1698 to 1708 to increase the Quaker population on the Island from three to fifty - enough for Nantucket Monthly Meeting to be formed.

Likewise in 1696, Sarah Gardner, granddaughter of both Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner and the late Thomas Macy, married Joseph Paddack (a nephew of Ichabod), and affiliated with the Yarmouth Friends Meeting; but she appears to have been a less active member than was Hephzibah Hathaway in Dartmouth. Even a year earlier (1695) Puella Hussey, Stephen' eldest daughter, married another Yarmouth member, Shubail Gorham. This couple came to live on the Island for a time, but probably left because of Hussey's conflict with other Nantucket Quakers. Their seven children proved marginal Quakers at best. Obviously

there was more coming and going to the Cape than would appear from the record. But as the Starbucks rather than the Gardners or Husseys took the initiative in founding the Nantucket Friends Meeting, it was the Dartmouth Quaker group rather than that at Sandwich which stood in as parent to the Island group. This distinction may seem to be academic as Dartmouth itself was set off from Sandwich in 1698, the year in which the relative isolation of Nantucket was finished. But the Dartmouth connection pointed toward Rhode Island guidance xx, not to the Cape, as the picture in 1708 plainly showed.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 2.

NANTUCKET FAMILES IN 1698

There were eleven families traditionally associated with early Nantucket; viz. Macy, Coffin, Starbuck, Coleman, Swain, Bunker, Gardner, Barnard, Folger, Hussey and Worth. There were, in addition, a few early families who moved off, mostly to the Vineyard. And there were a few others who are remembered only in the female line. In all probability 100 to 150 family names had to do with Nantucket in its first century, constituting 600 households, of which the Coffins produced at least 75, and the Gardners at least 65, a good quarter of the whole. It was a typical isolated community - intermarriage taking place to an incredible extent. But they were a healthy lot - a strong amalgam - ready to engage in what we might describe today as "population explosion".

There were perhaps 225 white settlers in 1698 (probably 500 Indians). An attempt will be made to list the white adults in that year in order for the Quaker "invasion" to take place in front of a clear backdrop. The original founding family was the Macys. Both Thomas, the actual founder, and his only son, John, were dead, but there were three married daughters; Sarah (Macy) Worth (aged 52), wife of William; Mary (Macy) Bunker (aged 50), wife of William; and Bethiah (Macy) Gardner (aged 48), wife of Richard Jr. John, the son, left eight orphans children: viz., John Macy Jr. (aged 23); Sarah (Macy) Barnard (aged 21), wife of John; Deborah Macy (aged 19); Bethiah Macy (aged 15); and four minors. All eight of these became

Quakers - perhaps naturally, as they were under the care of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, their maternal grandmother.

The second founding family were the financial backers of the settlement - the Coffins. Both Tristram the founder, and Judge Peter, his eldest son, were dead. There were, however, three other Island sons (and one, Tristram Jr. living off-Island). These were: Representative James Coffin (aged 58); Major John Coffin (aged 51) of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard; and Stephen Coffin (aged 46), who operated his father's sheep interests. There is some indication that John joined his wife, a daughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Austin, in becoming a Friend. Certainly James did not, while Stephen did. There was an off-Island sister, Elizabeth Greenleaf, and on the Island, another, Mary (Coffin) Starbuck (aged 53), wife of Nathaniel. James had twelve children by his Boston born wife, Mary (Severance) Coffin, (aged 53). These were: Mary (Coffin) Pinkham (aged 35), wife of Richard; James Coffin Jr. (aged 34) already twice married; Abigail (Coffin) Gardner (aged 31), wife of Capt. Nathaniel; Capt. Nathaniel Coffin (aged 27), son-in-law of William Gayer; John Coffin, (aged 26), also married; Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck (aged 24), wife of Nathaniel Jr.; Deborah (Coffin) Bunker (aged 21) wife of George; Ebenezer Coffin (aged 20); Joseph Coffin (aged 19); Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker (aged 17), wife of Jonathan; and two minor children. Of ~~xxxxx~~ this large family only two joined Friends, Dinah and Elizabeth. The others, in fact, were Puritan-inclined.

None of Judge Peter's eight children ever joined Meeting, though their mother, Abigail (Starbuck) Coffin (aged 53), was a sister of Sarah Austin, and lived much of her life in Dover, where Sarah was a Quaker Minister. In fact only two of the eight remained on Nantucket after their parents' departure in 1690. The first of these was Peter Coffin Jr. (aged 48) who married a double-first cousin, a daughter of the Great Mary Starbuck.

The other was Jethro Coffin (aged 45), owner of the Sunset Hill House. Peter Jr. had seven children: viz., Abigail Coffin (aged 15), and six minors. (Abigail became a member of the Boston Meeting, while the two youngest, girls, joined the Nantucket Quaker group.) Three of this family of seven left soon after 1706, as their father died in 1699 and their mother in 1706. Jethro's six minor children grew up on Nantucket, much influenced by their mother, a daughter of Capt. John Gardner, to oppose Quakerism at every point.

John Coffin's family gave rise to the Vineyard Coffins, like those of Nantucket, still extant. There were nine children: womewhat influenced by Deborah (Austin) Coffin (aged 46), their Quaker mother. One girl had already married on to the mainland by 1698. The eldest son, Peter Coffin (aged 27) was also already married. There were in addition: Enoch Coffin (aged 20); Hannah Coffin (aged 19); Samuel Coffin, and Tristram Coffin (twins aged 18), Deborah Coffin (aged 17) and Elizabeth Coffin (aged 16) - also a total of seven shildren. Of these, the twins and Deborah would adopt their mother's faith.

Curiously Stephen's wife was a marked anti-Quaker, Mary (Bunker) Coffin (aged 46), and sister to Stephen Hussey's Puritan wife. Following the early Coffin tradition, the two eldest sons had already left Nantucket to marry on the mainland. It might be appropriate here to observe that the Coffins never put all their eggs in the Nantucket basket - in contrast, for instance, to the Macy tradition and many others. The eldest daughter, Dionis (Coffin) Norton, (aged 27) had already wed Jacob Norton on the Mineyard. There were seven other children about: viz.; Stephen Coffin Jr. (aged 23), married to a Vineyard girl, Experience (Look) Coffin (aged 26), his cousin by another Bunker sister; Judith (Coffin) Folger (aged 20), wife of Peter (the younger); Susannah Coffin (aged 18); Mehitable Coffin (aged 16),

and three minor children. Both Stephen and Experience became very active Quaker leaders, as did Judith. Two of the three minors also joined the Meeting. So it is quite clear that the Coffins were only in part interested in Quakerism similar to their involvement with the Island.

//Edward Starbuck was dead, as was his daughter Dorcas, Lady Gayer. Three other daughters survived: Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin, (aged 66), the Quaker Minister, who would come in 1708 to help the infant Nantucket Meeting; Abigail Coffin (widow of Judge Coffin) also an off-Islander; and Esther (Starbuck) Varney (aged 50), a Quaker off-Island in Dover. Edward's son, Nathaniel Starbuck (aged 62) would join Nantucket Meeting. He and the Great Mary had eight children: Mary (Starbuck) Gardner, late wife of James; Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin (aged 33), wife of her double first cousin, Peter Jr.; Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. (aged 30), future Clerk of the Quaker Meeting for a quarter century; Jethro Starbuck (aged 27), husband of the future women's Clerk; Barnabas Starbuck (aged 25); Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner (aged 24), wife of Capt. John's anti-Quaker heir; Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman (aged 22), wife of John Jr. (and future Quaker Minister); and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway (aged 18), of Dartmouth. All but Elizabeth (soon to die) and Eunice (in her husband's Puritan camp), would be found at the heart of Nantucket Quakerism.

Thomas Coleman, the original settler of that name died in 1692, followed by his eldest son Joseph; and for good measure, he had already lost another son, Isaac. Joseph left only one daughter, by his deceased Bunker wife (sister of Stephen Coffin' wife, likewise Stephen Hussey's); she was Anne (Coleman) Allen (aged 23), wife of Edward Allen (aged 23). A newcomer from Dover, N.H., Isaac had not married. Thus the Coleman name was carried foreard by John Coleman (aged 54), a third brother, whose Folger wife was no longer living. They had eight children:

viz.; John Coleman Jr. (aged 31) future head of the men's Meeting; Thomas Coleman (aged 29), married to an off-Island Puritan, Jane (Childs) Challenge-Coleman (aged 23); Isaac Coleman (aged 27), similarly married to Ann (Reynolds) Coleman (aged 23); Benjamin Coleman (aged 22); Jeremiah Coleman (aged 20); and a minor son. Only he would join his eldest brother in the Meeting. Despite the Folger inheritance, the Colemans were mostly outside Meeting.

Richard Swain, the first of that name, had also died in 1682, as had his son by the same name - a man who had settled in New Jersey - and was apparently a Quaker, as was John Swain (aged 65). John's Puritan wife, Mary (Wyer) Swain, was dead. Of their eight children three would "marry off", and a fourth wed a Vineyarder. The eldest - a girl - (who had married off) had already died. John Swain Jr. (aged 34), the next, had married a Folger. A third, Sarah (Swain) Norton (aged 28), had wed Joseph Norton, brother of Jacob (who was son-in-law of Stephen Coffin), a Vineyarder. The fourth, Joseph Swain (aged 25), married a Puritan from off-Island, Mary (Sibley) Swain (aged 23). The fifth, a girl, married off. The sixth was Benjamin Swain (aged 19). The seventh, a girl, also married off; and the eighth, Patience Swain (aged 15), alone of the family followed her father's religion. At least John lived to witness the creation of a Meeting on Nantucket, and in his latter years he spoke in Meetings for Worship - in fact became recognized as a Quaker Minister.

Richard Swain had brought the Bunkers on to the Island as he had married their widowed mother - who incidentally was the first white person to die on Nantucket (1662). Thus the five Bunker children were raised by Richard Swain. One had died - Joseph Coleman's wife. The eldest Elizabeth (Bunker) Look (aged 51), lived on Martha's Vineyard, wife of Thomas Look (whose father had been associated with Gov. Mayhew in the settling of Nantucket). The next William Bunker (aged 48) had married a

Macy, and had nine children to contribute to the third generation. His sister Mary (Bunker) Coffin (aged 46), was Stephen's wife. The final sister, Martha (Bunker) Hussey (aged 41), was a Stephen's wife also. Was Richard Swain the origin of their strong Puritanism? It would seem so - yet a most puzzling phenomen!

William's son George Bunker (aged 27), had married a daughter of Magistrate James Coffin, and was himself destined to play a leading role in the political life of the Island. A second son, Jonathan Bunker (aged 22), followed suit in marrying another daughter of Magistrate James. A third was Peleg Bunker (Jonathan's twin). A fourth was Jabez Bunker (aged 20), destined to be a great Quaker Elder. A fifth was Thomas Bunker (aged 18), and a sixth, Benjamin Bunker (aged 15), was the one who would follow Jabez into Meeting. Three sisters, all minors, came next - all would become Quaker Elders! Apparently the Macy admixture "worked" with those who were not yet "set" when the Meeting began.

In 1698 John Gardner (aged 73), was living in stormy retirement, ready to insult any Quaker visitor who might appear. His wife Priscilla (Grafton) Gardner (aged 68), was more sensitive. They had ten children, three of whom had married off the Island. The eldest of these, John Jr., lived in Boston, but two of his sons decided to settle on Nantucket, but not till after the Friends Meeting got started. Both were like their grandfather, marked anti-Quakers. The second to leave, Anna, married Edward Coffin, a son of Judge Peter, who had left. The third, Mehitable, married a Dawes in Boston. The other seven were Nantucketers! Priscilla (Gardner) Arthur (aged 52), wife of an on-comer, John Arthur (aged 53), also Puritan. Capt. John's Nantucket heir, George Gardner (aged 38), had married into the Starbuck house. Benjamin Gardner (aged 34), never married, nor did Nathaniel

Gardner (aged 30). Mary (Gardner) Coffin (aged 28), was the mistress of Sunset Hill. Rachel (Gardner) Brown (aged 27), was the wife of John Brown, Third, (aged 36), heir of a Puritan family, who "came on" with the Arthurs during King Philip's War. (Both his father and grandfather of the same name had died.) Finally there was Ruth (Gardner) Coffin (aged 21), wife of James Jr. This family stood solid against Quaker developments.

Capt. Richard Gardner died in 1688, so that Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner (aged 66), was ten years a widow. She had nine children, all of whom stayed on the Island: the eldest being Joseph Gardner (aged 46), who had five children by his Macy wife. These were Sarah (Gardner) Paddack (aged 26), Quaker, wife of Joseph of Yarmouth; Damaris, late wife of Stephen Barnard; Bethiah Gardner (aged 22); Hope Gardner (aged 15), and two minor sisters (who joined their eldest sister as Quakers). Then there was Joseph's sister, Sarah (Gardner) Folger (aged 46), wife of School teacher Eleazer; and Richard Gardner Jr. (aged 45), who had married a daughter of Sarah Austin, Mary (Austin) Gardner (aged 43), who was a nominal Quaker. They had nine children: viz.; Joseph Gardner (aged 21); Soloman Gardner (aged 18); Benjamin Gardner (aged 15); and six minor children, only one of whom became a Quaker.

The fourth of Sarah Shattuck's children was the late Deborah (Gardner) Macy-Pease, mother of the orphaned Quaker Macys. James Gardner Jr. (aged 34), the fifth, married Mary Starbuck's namesake. The sixth, Miriam (Gardner) Worth (aged 32), wed John. The favorite seventh, and only Quaker son - also he became a Minister - was Capt. Nathaniel Gardner (aged 29), son-in-law of Magistrate James Coffin. The eighth, Hope (Gardner) Coffin, (twin) married into the same family. Finally there was Love who had married James Coffin Jr., but had died in childbirth. Seven of Sarah Shattuck's children were thus living.

The original Barnard brothers; Thomas and Robert, were long since gone. Robert's widow, Joanna (Harvey) Barnard (aged 86), was one of the few old people on the Island. Her son, John, was dead, many years past. But her three daughters were active: Mary (Barnard) Barnard (aged 53), had married Thomas' son, Nathaniel Barnard (aged 56); Sarah (Barnard) Skiffe (aged 46), had married James Skiffe, first of his name, but deceased; and Martha (Barnard) Rogers (aged 44), wed William Rogers (aged 53), first of his name on the Island. Nathaniel and Mary had nine children of whom two eventually married off the Island (one by 1698). These were Mary (Barnard) Folger (aged 31), wife of John, Quaker in time; John Barnard (aged 28), husband of a Quaker Macy (in time); Nathaniel Barnard Jr. (aged 26), eventual Quaker; Stephen Barnard (aged 24), widower; Eleanor Barnard (aged 19); Benjamin Barnard (aged 18), eventual Quaker; and two minors - one of whom would join Friends. This was a Puritan family which changed over to Quakerism for the most part.

Peter Folger was dead and as well his eldest daughter who had married John Coleman, as well as the second, Bethiah, who was drowned thirty years before with her husband, John Barnard, only son of Robert - this being the first sea tragedy suffered by Nantucket. But Peter's widow, Mary (Morrill) Folger (aged 78), was living, and seven other children - the youngest of whom had married Josiah Franklin, Benjamin's father, and had moved to Boston. Peter's third daughter, Dorcas (Folger) Pratt (aged 51), married Phineas Pratt (aged 53), of Boston, but came to live on the Island for some years. The fourth child, Eleazer Folger (aged 50), school teacher, was soon to replace James Coffin in the State Legislature. His wife was a daughter of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. They had five children only one of whom became a Quaker. These were: Eleazer Folger Jr. (aged 26), Peter Folger (aged 24), the younger, who married a daughter of

Stephen Coffin; Sarah Folger, (aged 22); Mary Folger (aged 15); and a minor brother.

The fifth of Peter Folger's children, a girl, also married away in Boston. The sixth Patience (Folger) Harker (aged 44), married Ebeneezer Harker (aged 48), the first of his name on the Island. The seventh favorite child was John Folger (aged 39), future Quaker, who had wed a Barnard. The last before Abiah Franklin was Experience (Folger) Swain (aged 34), wife of John Jr.

Stephen Hussey, (aged 68), Quaker, was very much about. His Bunker wife had presented him with seven children: viz., Puella (Hussey) Gorham (aged 21), wife of Shubael of Yarmouth, Quakers; Abigail Hussey (aged 19); Silvanus Hussey (aged 16); and four minors. All these children became members of Nantucket Meeting - Silvanus becoming Clerk in later years.

William Worth (aged 58), the first of his name, was about with his Macy wife, and son, John Worth (aged 33), who had married a daughter of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. Four of their seven minor children would become Quakers in time. This finishes off the list of the eleven typical families in 1698; and adds up to a total of 114 adults living on the Island.

In addition there was Sir William Gayer (aged 63), widower with three children; Damaris (Gayer) Coffin (aged 25), wife of Capt. Nathaniel; Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck (aged 23), wife of Jethro; and William Gayer Jr. (aged 21).

Temporarily residing on the Island was Moses Swett (aged 37), and his wife, Mary (Hussey) Swett (aged 32), a cousin of Stephen Hussey, and their three minor children. Upon removal to the North Shore they became Quakers.

Another family due to remove directly to Martha's Vineyard was that of Isaac Chase (aged 51), and his wife Mary (Tilton) Chase (aged 48). They had twelve children: viz., Thomas Chase (aged 21), Rachel Chase (aged 19); Isaac Chase Jr. (aged 16) and nine minors.

One eventually returned to live on Nantucket, while three others sought Nantucket wives or husbands to live on the Vineyard. But unlike the Swetts, who became Quakers, the Chases avoided all Quaker contacts - at least till the next generation.

Then there was John Trott (aged 53), and his wife Anna (?) Trott (aged 53). She would become a fervent Quaker, and half of their eight minor children would follow their mother's religion. Closely associated with them was Edward Cartwright (aged 48), once a widower and remarried to Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright (aged 43), John's sister - a future Quakeress. He had four children by his first wife: Nicholas Cartwright (aged 23); Sampson Cartwright (aged 21); Susannah Cartwright (aged 18) and Edward Cartwright Jr. (aged 15). Susannah followed her step-mother into Meeting.

Another future member (and Clerk) was Joseph Marshall (aged 26), who had come on from Boston to help equip whale boats with his wife, Marcy (Short) Marshall (aged 23). James and Sarah Skiffe were about to emigrate to the Vineyard. They had six children; viz., Sarah (Skiffe) Long (aged 22), who had married Robert Long (aged 22), first of his name on the Island. (Sarah would become a Friend.) The other five Skiffe children were minors.

William and Martha Rogers had five children, the elder two of whom had married on to the mainland, leaving Orange Rogers (aged 22), Martha Rogers (aged 20) and Mary Rogers (aged 18). This family had also moved to the Vineyard. Only Mary would become a Friend when her widowed mother came back to Nantucket.

Another family new to Nantucket was that of John Ellis (aged 23) - whose wife's name appears to be completely lost. They were obviously Puritans. Also Temporarily on the Island was Matthew Pease (aged 53), with his wife Elizabeth (Butler) Pease (aged 48) - both Vineyarders. With them were three of their children: Anna Pease (aged 26); Matthew Pease Jr. (aged 23)

and his twin, Nathan Pease. Matthew Jr. had married a cousin, Mary (Butler) Pease (aged 23), also of the Vineyard - indicating intermarriage was strong on that island also. These were naturally Puritan families. Thus these miscellaneous families add another 31 adults, making a total of 145 which with children probably raised the total of white Nantucketers to 225 or so. Of the adults about one third became Quakers.

Perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance to be discovered in reading this chapter is the rarity with which elderly or old people are encountered. On reflection this is normal in "developing" societies the world over. Such a sircumstance, however, gives clue to the youthfulness of the Nantucket Meeting, when it was founded, or at almost any point in its early or even middle-aged career. Only the events of a century and a quarter later would radically modify that situation. Probably most 18th century Quaker Meetings in America tended to be composed of young or younger members, as well.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 3.

## QUAKERISM TAKES ROOT 1698-1702

King William III reigned alone in England in 1698. During the preceeding forty years that nation had witnessed the Collapse of the Commonwealth, the Restoration of the Monarchy and the Glorious Revolution. War with France from 1689 to 1697 had plagued even Nantucket, where a French privateer landed in 1695, and in 1696 a guard had to be organized to prevent further depredations. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick intervened - and King William sought to give Spain to a Bavarian heir in 1698. Louis XIV, his adversary was amenable, but the Emperor and the Spanish King, both Hapsburgh took a dim view of it. Peter the Great westernizing Czar of Russia had taken this moment to visit the west of Europe intent on war with Turkey, only to turn his venom against Sweden.

In 1698 George Fox was seven years dead - and London Yearly Meeting was eager to break away from the too strict tutelege of George Whitehead, his successor. Continental Quakerism was in decline everywhere, despite the respect shown Friends by no less a personality than Peter the Russian Czar. The operation of a Toleration Act passed in 1689, nine years before, meant that British Quakerism was settling down into a respectable stance as a responsible sect. More Quakers still lived in England than in the rest of the world.

In America, at least on the continent, there were about 13,000 Quakers, perhaps a quarter the number in England.

In America they were divided into five Yearly Meetings - mostly for geographical conveniency. Independence had been granted 15 years earlier, more or less with the intention that one Yearly Meeting should govern - centered on Penn's colony of Philadelphia. The northern colonies, however, did not accept this arrangement, as they had been in the custom of gathering annually for a quarter centary in Newport. Thus New England Yearly Meeting was born, but hardly yet acknowledged by Philadelphia in 1698. In fact in 1695 the New York Meetings, petitioned Newport to have their own Yearly Meeting - which request when granted, made it easier for Philadelphia to accept both bodies. New York was composed of but one Quarterly Meeting - Westbury: and two constituent monthly business meetings; Flushing and Westbury. In a colony of 30,000 inhabitants Quakers numbered but 600. There were perhaps 5,300 church members to be found in New York (constituting one sixth of the population). The Dutch Reformed had 1500 members and the Anglicans 1,200. Though the colony was officially Anglican, the Dutch majority prevented any real discrimination. Some 800 Huguenots strengthened the Dutch Reformed body, as did 400 Puritans and 200 Presbyterians. Other groups included 200 Lutherans and 100 each of Jewish and dissident Friends - so-called Kiethian Quakers.

New England Yearly Meeting proved much larger, consisting of 3,000 members still in one Quarterly Meeting, which in 1699 divided into two; that for Rhode Island containing three Monthly Meetings, Rhode Island, Greenwich and Dartmouth (in Massachusetts) while old New England Quarterly Meeting included Dover (N.H. - 400 members), Salem, Scituate and Sandwich - four in all. In 1705 Salem set off its northern area as Hampton M.M. These two Meetings with Dover then set up Salem Quarterly Meeting.

That division allowed Scituate and Sandwich to rename their Quarterly Meeting Sandwich. There were 1,000 Quakers in Massachusetts, and 1,600 in Rhode Island. New Hampshire had 5,000 inhabitants, Massachusetts 75,000, Rhode Island 10,000 and Connecticut 30,000: a total of 120,000 (or four times that of New York). The Quakers stood at five times the New York figure. New Hampshire had 800 Puritans, 200 Anglicans and 100 Baptists, making (with Quakers) a church census of 1,500, or one quarter of the whole population. In Massachusetts a much more effective state Puritan church claimed 15,000 members. There were also 500 Baptists and 400 Anglicans, with Quakers, making nearly 17,000 church members, or one fifth of the population. Membership, however, was discouraged in many wholly Puritan towns - for obvious reasons.

In Connecticut the only Quakers were 300 dissident Rogerenes. There 6,000 Puritans well overshadowed 100 Anglicans and 100 Baptists. There were thus 6,500 church members, or one fifth of the population. Rhode Island was different. Its government had been Quaker dominated for forty years. There were, however, 1,000 Baptists, 500 Puritans, 200 Jewish and 100 Anglicans - (with Quakers, composing a church population of 3,400 (or one third of the colony).

New Jersey was still divided into two separate colonies, both under the jurisdiction of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as far as Quakers were concerned and both run by Quakers in fact. East Jersey with 10,000 inhabitants, had only 300 Quakers composing Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting (two Monthly Meetings - Shrewsbury and Woodbridge). There were 800 Dutch Reformed, 600 Puritans, 500 Anglicans, 300 Presbyterians, 200 Huguenots and 100 Kiethian Quakers, making a total of 2,800 church members, or one third of the population. Competition between and among groups tended to raise the net total. In West Jersey there

were only 5,000 inhabitants of whom 1,700 were Quakers, and 300 more Kiethians. There were only 200 Lutherans (dating from the Swedish settlement) 100 Anglicans and 100 Baptists. Thus there were 2,300 church members, nearly half the colony. West Jersey Friends composed two Quarterly Meetings: Burlington and Salem. Burlington consisted of two Monthly Meetings; Burlington and Chesterfield. Salem also had two; Salem and Gloucester (Haddenfield).

Pennsylvania had 20,000 inhabitants of whom 4,900 were Quakers, 1,000 Baptists, 900 Kiethians, 800 Mennonites, 400 Reformed and 300 Presbyterians, a total of 10,000 or certainly half the population. The Quakers numbered half the church members. There were three Quarterly Meetings : Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester. Bucks was composed of two Monthly Meetings; Falls and Middletown. Philadelphia was composed of three Monthly Meetings; Philadelphia, Abington and Haverford. Chester was composed of four Monthly Meetings; Chester, Darby, Concord and Newark. This last was located for the most part in the area of Delaware, which only formally separated off from Pennsylvania in 1703.

Although Philadelphia authorized Virginia Friends to meet as a Yearly Meeting only in 1696, independent and on its own - and followed suit with North Carolina in 1698, control was kept of the Maryland Meetings - in fact till 1790 when Baltimore Y.M. was formed. This was unusual as the Maryland Meetings had been holding annual Meetings a decade before Philadelphia was founded. There were two half-yearly Meetings (rather than Quarterly) which operated in this colony. Choptank was composed of Thirdhaven and Cecil Monthly Meetings; and Herring Creek of West River and Herring Creek - likewise two. There were 25,000 inhabitants in this colony, which had been the possession of

Catholic proprietors till the Glorious Revolution; 3,500 were Catholics, 2,500 were Anglicans, Quakers counted 900, with 100 more in the Kiethian camp. Some 300 Presbyterians finished the list - or a total of 7,300 church members (or one quarter of the population). The four colonies in which Philadelphia Y.M. was to be found counted 60,000 settlers, double New York, half New England. There were 6,800 members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, more than double New England (not counting the 1,400 Kiethian Quakers). There were eight Quarterly Meetings, and 19 Monthly Meetings - compared to two New England Quarterly Meetings and eight Monthly Meetings - a reasonable ratio.

Virginia had 40,000 inhabitants and was officially an Anglican colony : with 5,000 Anglicans, 800 Quakers, 300 Baptists and 200 Presbyterians. The total was thus 5,200 for church membership - low on percentage - being one eighth of the whole. There were two Quarterly Meetings; Upper and Lower. Upper consisted of Curles and Nansemond Monthly Meetings - and Lower of Accomac and Northampton Monthly Meetings. Carolina was as yet undivided except for administrative purposes. Its government was Quaker dominated. There were 12,000 inhabitants: of which 800 were Quakers, 700 Anglicans, 700 Huguenots, 300 Puritans, 300 Baptists and 100 Presbyterians - making a total of 3,000 church members, of a total of 12,000, or one quarter. The Quakers had one Quarterly Meeting, Carolina, with two Monthly Meetings; Perquimons and Pasquotank. There were thus 15 Quarterly Meetings and 35 Monthly Meetings composing the five American Yearly Meetings; when the Quaker missionaries first reached Nantucket.

Some 65,600 Americans were church members out of a white population of 262,000, or one quarter of the total. Today the percentage has risen to half the population - but that includes nominal membership - a condition unknown in the 17th century.

The Puritans were the most numerous; claiming 23,600 - with them were 2,700 Reformed, 1,700 Huguenots and 1,400 Presbyterians - a total of nearly half the church membership. The second largest grouping were the Society of Friends, with 13,000 members, not counting 1,500 Keithians and 300 Rogerines - nor 3,800 Baptists and 500 Mennonites who made up the liberal wing - or about two thirds of the Puritan group count. The Anglicans numbered 11,500 - the Catholics 4,300 - and the Lutherians 1,000 - all liturgical - not quite the liberal total. The Jews, the only non-Christians were but 300, and could well be placed in the liberal grouping. Quakers were thus one ~~xxxx~~ of each five colonials enrolled in some church organization in America in 1698.

There were ninety townships in Massachusetts in 1698 - ten more would be settled by 1708. Management of public affairs was in the hands of men like Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather, who had justified the Salem witchcraft madness within the decade. Sewall was liberalizing, however, for despite the Act of the General Court in 1698 which fastened slavery on the children of slaves, Sewall opposed the whole institution of bondage in his Selling of Joseph, published in 1702. There were perhaps 400 slaves in the colony - a handful of whom belonged on Nantucket. Stephen Hussey brought at least one from Barbadoes. The duty for importing slaves was not heavy, at least in comparison with the bond posted for manumission. And despite Sewall, the institution was crystalizing, for in 1705 any free person who married a slave was expelled from Massachusetts.

Above the slave class were the transients who were practically tax exempt. Such were liable to arrest. Apparently Nantucket was not yet plagued with such characters - not for

another twenty years or more. Next came the free men, who on one hand were forbidden allowing their daughters to ~~marry~~ marry transients, and on the other fined if they wore silks, laces, or jewells. Nantucket levelled down to the free men standard; that is where the Baptists and Quaker ethic applied. The residents of Sunset Hill and a few others may well have appeared on occasion as gentlemen and ladies. These were ~~g~~generally the proprietors, merchants and magistrates. In any case most free men, church members or not, could now vote - if male. The Governor, Sir William Phipps, first of the royal incumbents, was eminently unqualified for his post, and at his departure in 1697 there was little regret. There was no successor till 1699 when the Earl of Bellomont appeared and tried unsuccessfully to combine the northern colonies, as Gov. Edmond Andros had done. At least Bellomont set up the Superior Court of Judicature in 1699 in Boston to link the county courts with the Crown. The Governor died in 1701. Lt. Gov. Stoughton carried on for a year, while the War of the Spanish Succession brought the dreaded Indian War whoop on to the frontier settlements.

Then in 1702 Gov. Joseph Dudley took control. He was a ~~fire-~~ fire-eater who had no use for Quakers, ~~or~~ He organized the Admiralty Court in Boston in 1703, and set about raising troops and commissioning ships to take the French colony of Acadia (Nova Scotia). It was against this background that Nantucket turned to Quaker thinking and procedures.

Yet the climate was not altogether unfavorable. The Brattle Street Church in Boston, Congregational though it was, in 1699, accepted "a half-way covenant" for those not clear about election. Their pastor Thomas Coleman, kin to the Nantucket family of that name, took this initiative. Not many years would pass before he invited the loyal Baptists to

share in celebrating Thanksgiving. And the Boston Quakers managed to build a Meetinghouse in 1695. On Nantucket in 1698, the first Indian Meetinghouse was built, open to pastoral care from both Puritan and Baptist Ministers - though it must be admitted Christianity never "took" among the Nantucket Indians as it did on Martha's Vineyard. Only about one tenth of the aboriginal population joined in. And whereas they apparently attended the first Quaker Meetings in fair numbers, apparently, not a single Indian ever joined the Society of Friends on Nantucket. On the other hand the Nantucket Algonquins had no sympathy with the Abanaki or other Indian invaders during the 1701 - 1713 war.

Dartmouth, from which Thomas Hathaway brought the initial Quaker missionaries to Nantucket, was a decentralized township lying west of Buzzards Bay. There appear to have been eight distinct Quaker groups in the township, sending representatives to Monthly Meeting which was held at Apponegansett, a central site. At that place in 1702 a Meetinghouse was erected (35' x 30') which was to serve as the general model for that built nine years later (in 1711) on Nantucket. By 1705 the more important of the local groups were formally organized as Preparative Meetings (at least five years before Falmouth, Yarmouth and Sandwich followed suit). Only in 1704 was a Meetinghouse built at Sandwich.

Apparently there was no Puritan church in Dartmouth township till 1712, so that town Meetings were held in the Apponegansett Meetinghouse, where Thomas Hathaway served as Town Clerk. He was in fact the donor of the Acushnet Meetinghouse in 1704, the location of the ninth Quaker group - ancestor of New Bedford. Unfortunately the town records went up in smoke in 1728 when Hathaway's house burned - and Nantucket Friends

thereupon, incidentally, took up a collection to help repair his material loss.

A good many early settlers in the Dartmouth area were drawn into Friends membership - perhaps with memories of the havoc wrought by the Indians there a generation earlier during King Philip's War. The founders of the Quaker faith in Dartmouth were representatives of both the Rhode Island and Cape Cod Meetings, incarnated in Capt. Peleg Slocumb and his wife, Mary (Holder) Slocumb. The good captain donated the land and money for the Apponegansett Meetinghouse. In fact Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was set up by authority of Rhode Island Friends in his home, in 1699. His able wife was a niece of Ann Hutchinson and cousin of Mary Dyer, the Quaker martyr. Mary Slocumb inherited a gift in the ministry from her father, Christopher Holder, founder of the Seeker, later Quaker, community at Sandwich - and incidentally an unwanted visitor in Mayhew's manor of Martha's Vineyard.

In the summer of 1698 it would appear that Thomas Hathaway brought two visiting Quakers to Nantucket. The more important of these was a Thomas Turner (not the obscure Revolutionary War hero for whom the square in Upper Main Street on Nantucket is named) but a companion of George Fox, from County Essex, about to begin a seven years tour of the American colonies. To date no Journal or letter from Turner's pen has come to light. He no doubt attended the Sunday and/or Thursday worship on Nantucket, while after some time in silence, rose, removed his hat, and spoke extemporaneously. His companion was Hugh Copperthwaite of Flushing, Long Island, an affluent Friend, who left an endowment and library of Quaker books to that Meeting - which had built a Meetinghouse in 1695 - (a structure still standing and still in use by that Meeting). Copperthwaite too had known George Fox, from the days of Fox's American

journey. Did the two visitors share reminiscences of the Quaker founder with Stephen Hussey? In 1705 upon his return to England, Turner made a full report on his seven years journey, which report was spread in the Minutes of London Yearly Meeting - but not a word did he write about the "far away" Island. Turner's and Copperthwaite's great contribution was to stir up a young Philadelphia Quaker merchant and minister, Thomas Chalkley to visit the Island. Copperthwaite himself managed to come back a second time in 1705, when a Meeting for Worship had already been gathered. He died in 1730, having given a full measure of devotion to New York Quakerism. Thomas Hathaway, it happened, was lost with his sloop at sea the next year. They had come to realize the importance of the visit in 1698 even if Thomas Turner did not.

Two months after the initial visit, Thomas Chalkley appeared in company with ex-Gov. John Easton, of Rhode Island, and with a worthy matron of Quaker Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Joanna (Slocumb) Mott, sister of the leading Dartmouth Friend. Probably the Nantucket Islanders were surprised that a woman should travel without her husband - though he later became the firmest of Nantucket supporters - and that she should preach as well as any layman or clergyman whom they had ever heard. Also the Islanders must have been flattered that such a worthy as Governor Easton would favor them with a visit, one whose father had worked with Roger Williams to amalgamate Rhode Island with Providence Plantations. Easton's father had in fact donated the land for the Newport Meetinghouse, which was erected in 1672 for George Fox's visit and in 1699 was about to be enlarged and decorated with a "lanthorn". This structure, much rebuilt, still stands. The Governor himself in his youth had accompanied Margaret Brewster in her shocking "sack cloth and ashes" entrance into the South Church of Boston,

in a more emotional age. Newport was second to Philadelphia the most important Quaker colonial center. And Chalkley himself came from Penn's green city. Before turning to this young Friend (who was one of the outstanding Quaker figures in the early 18th century), it is interesting to note that Nantucket was becoming a pawn in the ecclesiastical struggle between Puritan Boston and latitudinarian Newport. They were the two New England ports of note. Quaker Newport would win the contest, and Nantucket would focus westward as it had earlier done in the days of the proprietary colony of New York.

Chalkley did keep a Journal in which he commented on the many "tenderhearted" people on the Island. At least two-thirds of the white community attended the Meeting for Worship which the visitors arranged, including the resident Baptist Minister - unnamed, - who arranged a second Meeting for them in his home. Chalkley wrote -

> On First Day we had the largest Meeting we had on the Island. It was thought there was above two hundred people. The Lord in his power did make his Truth known to the people. O! How my soul was concerned for that people. The Lord Jesus did open my heart to them and theirs to Him.....

As far as Chalkley's effect upon the Islanders upon the conclusion of his visit of five days; it may be said that they were favorably impressed with him, his message, and with Quakerism as a reasonable way of life. His Journal account gives internal evidence of latter editing, so that his claim to have been the instrument to bring about the Quaker convincement of the Great Mary Starbuck is overstated. He did improve upon Turner's negative message "that Truth's enemies would be scattered" - Truth was a Quaker synonym for Quakerism in those days. Chalkley

certainly informed his fellow Pennsylvanians of the possible opening he had met with on Nantucket. Upon his return in 1704 he noted that opposition to Quakerism had arisen - that some were "cruel in their expressions" towards Friends, and that most attenders of his Meetings"were not yet of our Society". Later that year the Nantucket Meeting for Worship was established.

The man chiefly responsible for this - the real founder of the Nantucket Friends Meeting was also a Philadelphian. In fact William Penn's deputy, Thomas Story, ~~who~~ better than Chalkley left a full Journal account. But before turning to this, account must be taken of developments between 1698 and 1704.

1699 was the year in which the new "Parliament House" was built on Nantucket. Its construction was partly undertaken by a Rhode Island Friend, Ebeneezer Slocumb, brother of Capt. Peleg of Dartmouth and of Joanna Mott of Portsmouth. His home was on Conanicut Island (Jamestown), where the local Friends Meeting was one of five constituting Rhode Island M.M. In fact Ebeneezer was its chief Minister, having been convinced of Friends principles under the ministry of the Great George Fox himself. All the inhabitants of Conanicut were Quakers to a man (Meeting founded 1684). What better end could this man "strong and noble of body" desire, accounted rightly as he was "a great bishop of souls and sheppard of the sheep", than that a similar situation come into being on Nantucket? Slocumb was to become Chairman of the Yearly Meeting Committee which brought Nantucket Monthly Meeting into existence in 1708.

With him in 1699 on Nantucket was his brother-in-law, Jacob Mott of Portsmouth, husband of Joanna, who more than any other Friend took special responsibility for the nurture of Quaker interests on the Island, serving on the 1708 Yearly Meeting Committee. In fact Jacob got to Nantucket at least

five time during the formative decade. Joanna came with her husband in 1707 when they brought over a selection of Quaker books. Six years before their son and heir, Jacob Mott Jr. began his public career as a ministering Friend while on the Island with his father. Sixty years later Jacob Mott Jr. was still active as an old man on behalf of the Nantucket Meeting when it was involved in a difficult crisis. Jacob Jr. was on the Island at least twice before the Monthly Meeting got started.

In 1700 the summer visitors were but two; John Estaugh, a young Britisher like Thomas Chalkley, in process of establishing himself in the Philadelphia neighborhood, in John's case as the husband of Elizabeth Haddon of Haddonfield. His companion was Thomas Steere of Providence, Rhode Island, then a part of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. Neither apparently ever visited Nantucket again - but the joint Philadelphia - Newport interest was underscored.

The principal visitor in 1701, appearing with Jacob Mott and son was, no one less than Gov. Walter Clarke of Rhode Island, an independent-minded Quaker, who not only wore a scarlet cloak (of which Margaret Fox, George's widow would have fully approved) but was the first American to defend "colonial rights" before the Board of Trade. A few weeks later another worthy appeared in the figure of Thomas Thompson Jr., of Yorkshire, a veteran companion of George Fox, accompanied by three Rhode Island Quakers, who were new to Nantucket. Thompson was the first Englishman to give a straight report to London Yearly Meeting concerning the situation on Nantucket. This was in 1703, when he wrote of his 1701 visit -

> I was also at an island called Nantucket which lyeth 20 leagues from ye mainland. There is a professing people on it a people high in notion among whom I had good services and several of them confessed to ye Truth.

The impression given is of a proud strong-minded but tolerant community in which some definitely leaned toward the Quaker approach. It would appear that the crystalization of some opposition such as Chalkley met it two years later had not yet occurred.

Probably Susannah Freeborn, a spinster minister, daughter of Gideon, a prominent Quaker merchant of Newport, made as great an impression in 1701, as did Gov. Clarke - certainly as did the elderly Thompson, for she roundly defended the doctrine of woman's equality to man. And with her as companion came a second spinster, Ruth Fry, also of the Quaker capital, - as it were to emphasize Susannah Freeborn's point. In fact Susannah became, after Jacob Mott Sr. the most influential of Rhode Islanders in promoting Nantucket Quakerism. Her point of view won ready acceptance from the great Mary Starbuck quite obviously. And she brought along still another spinster during her five visits before 1708, and for good measure, two brothers-in-law. The second spinster was Hope Borden (who came in 1706), daughter of merchant Matthew, one of the great magnates of Newport. One brother-in-law was Joseph Wanton, ship-builder, who came in 1706. The other William Anthony, merchant, had emigrated from Yorkshire, he came in 1705. Both were prominent Newport Friends. With Susannah Freeborn and Thomas Thompson (as the latter's companion) in 1701, was to be found ex-Governor John Clarke, kin of Walter, who had distinguished himself in defence of the Rhode Island Charter in London, as the Sovereigns William and Mary reviewed colonial titles. This was apparently his only visit to Nantucket. Notwithstanding it would appear that Newport was prepared to bring all its influence to bear upon Nantucket. It is difficult to imagine that the Island community was not in some degree flattered with the quality of the attention received, particularly as Boston neglected the Island.

1702 was, however the key year for turning the destiny of Nantucket into the Quaker orbit. As Mary Starbuck's favorite seventh child, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman herself a Quaker Minister, wrote in later years - the 1702 visit and visitors were "often fresh in her remembrance".

Five visitors arrived together, having been transported in Capt. Peleg Slocumb's sloop, which apparently was little known on Nantucket. The visitors had put off a rowboat during the night mistaking Muskeget or another smaller island for Nantucket itself. The fog was thick so that it was not till after dawn that the landing party, sleepless, made their weary way to the sloop itself. The War of the Spanish Succession had broken, so that the Island was much alarmed at the early morning arrival of a fog shrowded vessell, which well might have been a French privateer. As John Richardson the young widower Minister from Yorkshire, the principal visitor, wrote -

> We landed safe (at Capaum Harbor) and as we went up the Ascent, we saw a great many people looking towards the sea, for great fear had possess'd them, that our sloop was a French sloop loaded with men and arms, who were come to invade the Island: I held out my arms, and I told them I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. (typical of quick witted Quaker play on words) They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they intended to have alarmed the Island, it being a time of war: I told the good like people, for so they appeared to me that Peleg Slocumb, near Rhode Island was Master of the Sloop, and that we came to visit them in the Love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some Meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us, and they said we might.

Obviously his was a rare Journal account, written at the time and quick to catch the pyschological overtones of the moment. With Slocumb and Richardson was Jacob Mott Sr. and his female counterpart, Susannah Freeborn, both familiar figures, and James Bates, a Minister of Scimino Meeting in Virginia, member of Upper Monthly Meeting. His plantation lay within walking or boating distance of Yorktown, Williamsburg, and the original settlement at Jamestown. A brother, John Bates, had founded this Meeting - which a century later would fade as the Bates and other Quaker families in the area moved to the Ohio country, to escape the blight of Negro slavery . In 1702 the lines were not drawn so sharply for Virginia Quakers. Bates was in fact the first southern Quaker to reach the Island. But to return to Richardson's account -

> We then inquires for Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. who we understood was in some degree convinced of the Truth, and having directions to his House; we went thither, and as I told him. We made bold to come to his House, and if he was free to receive us, we would stay a little with him, but if not we would go elsewhere; for we heard he was a seeking religious Man, and such chiefly we were come to visit. He said, we were very welcome, and by this time came in his mother Mary Starbuck, who the Islanders esteemed as a Judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood. At the first sight of her it sprang in my Heart, to this Woman is the everlasting Love of God.

Obviously the Starbucks were not yet Quakers - but inclined in that direction in 1702. So much for Thomas Chalkley's gloss that he had been the instrument by which convincement had taken place. The above extract is also interesting as illustrative of a sort of extra-sensory perception, and overtones of the

concept of some kind of predestinarian election.

She paused a while and then said. I think at our House. I from thence gathered she had an Husband, for I thought the Word our, carried in it some power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us. I made my observation on him, and he appeared a Man not of mean Parts, but she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgement, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the Qualifications of her Husband.

Now this extract would seem to indicate that in telling Richardson about Nantucket, neither one of his experienced companions had got it straight that Mary Starbuck was not a widow. It also probably indicates that Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. was a man of few words, perhaps rather shy, so that Richardson only noticed him, probably half hidden behind a throng of curious Islanders, who had gathered at the old Parliament House, some distance south of Capaum Harbor, in fact at the center of the then Nantucket town. But as -

The Meeting being agreed on, and Care taken as to the Appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could cut any Sleep ... but Sleep vanished away from me. And I got up and walked to and fro in the Woods until the Meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great Load in my Spirit, but the Occasion of it was hid from me, but I saw it my place to go to Meeting, the order of which was such, in all parts thereof I had not seen the like before; the large (19' x 20') and bright rubb'd Room was set with suitable Seats or Chairs, the Glass Windows taken out of the Frames, and many Chairs

placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see anything wanting, according to the place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my Feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.

At least one painting of this room, the Meeting and neighboring garden has been undertaken as a result of this vivid description. Obviously the Starbucks were used to what Quaker visitors considered suitable, even to arranging what must have been a rudimentary stand - which in a traditional Friends Meetinghouse would consist of the raised seats in front known as the ministers gallery. Perhaps more startling is the fact of that a grove of trees there through which Richardson could walk with apparent relative privacy. Today the area is moorland. Richardson then went on to describe the epochal Meeting itself.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary Order than in some other Things. For the Seats both within and without Doors were so placed that the Faces of the People were toward the Seats where the publick Friends sat (Richardson and his companions), and when so set, they did not look or gaze upon our Faces, as some I think are apt to do, which to my mind bespeaks an uncencerned Mind. The Meeting being thus gathered and set down in an orderly and simple manner (although there were but few bearing our name in it) it was not long before the mighty Power of the Lord began to work and in it my companion (James Bates) especially did appear in Testimony in the fore part there of ...

Obviously many Nantucketers took to Quaker silence as ducks to water after three summers exposure. Also at least the leading Islanders had a sensitive orderly bent of mind; in fact an approach already decidedly Quaker in cast or mould. It would seem that Bates spoke with conviction, but not in as

inspired a manner as did Richardson himself.

> I set a considerable time in the Meeting before I could see my Way clear to say anything, until the Lord's heavenly Power raised me, and set me upon my Feet, as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak, was in the Words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God ... Nay the natural and unregenerate Man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in Power, but also in Righteousness, Joy and Peace ... and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not able to render any account of how it was performed (is) unreasonable ... Those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their Sins, and as he died for sin, we (may) die to sin. In this State we live not after the Flesh although ... in the Flesh ... And we have all this and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable.

Any traditional Friend will understand instinctively how authentic was Richardson's call to speak - particularly his sense of being put on his feet by a power beyond himself. But what is almost unique is Richardson's precis of what he believed he was given to say. Apparently what he was pleading for was an inward self-conscious awareness of the steps by which one grows in spiritual understanding. Probably he was countering arguments put forward by advocates of a straight-forward transaction theory regarding what Christ's sacrifice meant. Many Puritans relied on a transcendental otherness between man and God. For them Quaker mysticism smacked of delusive subjectivism. It is not so clear in what way that Baptist arguments were undercut, if they were.

> And as I was thus opened and delivering these Things, and with much more than I can remember, the great Woman, I felt, for most of an Hour together, sought and strove against the Testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then a more ruddy complexion; but the strength of Truth increased and the Lord's Mighty Power began to shake the People within and without Doors; but she who was a Deborah to these People, was loathe to lose the outside of Religion, or the Appearance thereof. When she could no longer contain, she submitted to the Power of Truth, and the Doctrine there of, and lifted up her voice and wept; Oh! then the universal cry and Brokenness of Heart and tears was wonderful! From this time I do not remember one word that I spoke in Testimony, it was enough that I could keep on the true Bottom and not be carried away with the Stream above my Measure.

That this was a pentecostal type Meeting seems obvious! Also it would seem clear that John Richardson was involved in a profound contest of will with the Great Mary. He must have been unusually eloquent and capable of touching profound levels of emotion. It was probably a spontaneous living theatre situation in which many people responded in tears of mixed joy and shame. The element of mass hysteria must have been present, but did not overcome either protagonist, Richardson apparently then stopped talking - feeling himself to be "swallowed up in the internal presence of Christ". After an appropriate interval, he tried to "break Meeting" by shaking hands - with James Bates - it may be presumed. This was attempted three times to no avail.

> But after some time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her Hand, and spoke tremblingly and said, All that ever we have been building, all we have done,

> is all pull'd down this Day, and this is the Everlasting Truth ... Then she arose, and I observed that she, as many as well could be seen, were wet with Tears from their Faces to the fore skirts of their Garments, and the Floor as though there had been a Shower of Rain upon it ...

Despite Mary Starbuck's confession that the religious outlook of Nantucket as set by Peter Folger was not basically secure and that she was in effect ready to adopt the Quaker outlook, it is significant that she closed the Meeting, not the off-Islander. So with the whole story of Nantucket Quakerism. It was an Island initiative - and its own deliberate suicide two centuries later, similarly was Island directed. After the Meeting broke she offered John some mild warm liquor.

> And I went unto her Son's, where my Cloathes were, that I might shift me, for I felt Sweat in my Shoes as I walked.
>
> I remember Peleg Slocumb ... said after this Meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the inhabitants shaken, and most of the People convinced of the Truth ...

Later Mary Starbuck explained that the Islanders "principle was that such as believed in Christ, were always in Him, and whom He once loved. He loved to the end." She now enlarged her concept of election to include all states of religious development. Apparently there was a Puritan missionary on the Island who insisted on a public disputation with John Richardson over his doctrine of election. There the dominie laid stress on intellectual awareness of right and wrong as being the cornerstone of the essential verification as to assurance of being of the elect. To this argument

Richardson asked how the knowing devil could be evil under such circumstances.

Then Richardson and company left "... these find People ... with fervent Supplications and Prayers to the Lord ... that he would prosper his Blessed Work of Conversion which he had begun amongst them ..." At Yearly Meeting in 1703 in London, Richardson followed Thomas Thompson Jr. to say, "at Nantucket near Boston great openness and Truth (was) prevalent, and the people much in kindliness". So ended a visit whose record is unique, as far as I know in Quaker archives. Mary Starbuck, aged 58 became a Quaker, as did her son Nathaniel Jr. and daughter, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman. The Quaker population on Nantucket had doubled, and would continue to augment steadily. As for John Richardson, he was given the unique opportunity of returning just thirty years later in 1732, to sit in the gallery of the newly opened second Meetinghouse, which seated 1,500 persons, and was filled to capacity. One wonders what sermon Richardson preached at that time. Next to him on the top seat in the men's apartment sat Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. who had then served as Monthly Meeting Clerk, and chief minister of the Nantucket Quaker group for nearly a quarter century.

In four years a somewhat unknown religious approach had taken root on Nantucket. In another two years a regular Meeting for Worship would have been established. And in still another four years the Monthly Meeting started. The next chapter deals with these six years from 1702 to 1708.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 4.

## QUAKERISM BUDS AND SHOOTS 1702 - 1708

The convincement of Mary Starbuck took place when she was aged 58, that is when she verged on old age - at least according to 18th century standards. She would devote the next dozen years to promoting the Society of Friends on the Island, to retire in 1710 aged ~~70~~ 65 - at the ~~biblical expectancy of life~~ normal current age of retirement. Her convincement occurred at the time of Margaret Fox's death. Margaret Fox, George Fox's widow, had spent half a century as mother to the Quaker movement. Similarly Mary Starbuck had been a mother to Nantucket Island for an equivalent period. Margaret Fox was exposed to Quakerism as a young matron, then wife of Judge Fell. Mary Starbuck only encountered the same dynamic faith later - much later in life. Even so there are some striking similarities. Each left an enormous inheritance. And though Quakerism vanished from Nantucket two centuries after Mary Starbuck's convincement, Nantucketers who emigrated transmuted her inheritance across America to the Pacific - and even back across the Atlantic.

One curious circumstance is observable. Two years intervened between Mary Starbuck's convincement and the start of the Nantucket Meeting for Worship. Most convinced Friends today would start a worship-fellowship group within weeks of taking the plunge. Possibly Mary Starbuck was worried lest Stephen Hussey take too important a role, for Stephen was moving steadily into a position of controversy with the Proprietary in which the

Starbucks played a vital role. John Swain lived too far eastwards to take part easily and Sarah Gardner was busy raising orphaned Macy grandchildren.

Whatever , the winter of 1702-1703 passed without incident, except that Mary's husband Nathaniel Starbuck wrote up the legal history of the Island to be ready for any challenge coming from lawyer Hussey. In the spring two important Quakers from off-Island appeared. One Samuel Bownas, later author of the Qualifications of a Gospel Minister, was a vital leader in London Yearly Meeting. Apparently he was courteously received by Sir William Gayer, whom he described as the "Governor". It may be presumed that Sir William's daughter, Dorcas Starbuck, now declared herself a Quaker, as did her husband Jethro Starbuck. Also Dinah Starbuck, Nathaniel's wife joined in - even though her father Representative James Coffin (since 1701) did not favor the evolution on the Island. The other visitor Jedidiah Allen, member of Shrewsbury M.M., New Jersey, was also newly appointed to Lord Cornbury's Council for that colony. Both Allen and Bownas had been travelling to counteract the influence of George Kieth, would-be heir apparent to George Fox, who had led a separation of his followers from the main section of the Society of Friends. Now Kieth had returned from England as an Anglican priest and missionary for the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel". He knew the Quaker world, and was pledged to undercut it. It was a somewhat backhanded compliment which he made when he declared that it was the travelling Quaker such as Bownas and Allen who "kept Friends in so strong a countenance".

Samuel Bownas in reporting to London Yearly Meeting in 1705 stated -

> ...in Nantucket I had great satisfaction for the people not joined with Friends were moderate Baptists,

and came generally to meetings, their preacher also with them, who after meeting raised some objections against us, that he had from our Adversaries Books ... I told him we look'd upon it to be our duty to pray to God in Christ's name ... He said it was Gospel Truth in its primitive purity.

Possibly the unnamed preacher had access to Roger William's work entitled, George Fox digg'd out of his Burroughs, reflecting the public debate the founder of Providence had with a follower of Fox. Or possibly he had access to Francis Bugg's Snake-in-the-Grass series, scurrilous attacks made by an apostate Friend. Perhaps some of Kieth's anti-Quaker works had reached the Island. Jedidiah Allen apparently never returned but Bownas returned a quarter century later to encourage the formation of a "select" Meeting of ministers and elders, of which naturally Nathaniel Starbuck became the first Clerk.

Later in 1703 a group of six visitors turned up, one of whom was Capt. Peleg Slocumb, and another, his brother-in-law Jacob Mott, both of whom, no doubt, were eager to see how things had gone in the year since John Richardson had visited. The third visitor was John Hussey, brother of Stephen, now of New Castle, Delaware, where he and Rebecca Hussey had gone after suffering distraints at Hampton, Massachusetts (M.M. founded there 1701). They were now members of Newark M.M. This visit would seem to have taken place at least in part to bring understanding between Stephen and the Starbucks. The next visitor was Richard Gove, a Philadelphia merchant, member of Abington Monthly Meeting, founder of Plymouth Meeting, who had been asked to attend the opening of Virginia Yearly Meeting in 1698 and Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1698. His appearance in New York and New England was to explore the setting up of regular epistolary correspondence, and to smooth over the

misunderstanding dating from 1683. Of equal or greater importance was John Kinsey Jr., friend of Jedidiah Allen, minister of Woodbridge M.M. in East Jersey, though raised in West Jersey, where his father founded Burlington M.M. Thomas Story the outstanding visitor in the crucial year 1704 wrote -

> And some time before this, John Kinsey one of our Ministers from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had been to visit them (Nantucketers) with good acceptance ... to beget a good liking in them to the Way of Truth.

The sixth was Ephriam Hicks, formerly of Scituate M.M. above Plymouth, but now settled into trade in Newport (as had the Wanton family with which Ephriam was associated). In later years Hicks was to become much concerned to help Nantucket.

A second winter passed without any specific Quaker activity on the Island despite the six Quaker Starbucks and their three Quaker antecedents. In the summer of 1704, Thomas Chalkley was back, to be welcomed as an old friend, and to introduce John Butler, an Irish Friend, of whom we know little. Richard Harper of Falmouth preparative and Sandwich Monthly Meeting came on at that time as did Mary (Holder) Slocumb, Capt. Peleg's wife, who was raised in Sandwich. It is puzzling that only in 1704 did the nearest monthly meeting to Nantucket arrange to have a visitor reach the Island (of course Ichabod Paddack had been there on business in 1690). In any case a number of Sandwich Friends, of Yarmouth Preparative Meeting were proposing to remove to Nantucket, so that Richard Harper and Mary Slocumb may have been asked to check into the suitability of such a move. One couple was Shubael Gorham and Puella (Hussey) Gorham, she the eldest daughter of Stephen. Another was his brother Stephen Gorham who was marrying Elizabeth Gardner, granddaughter to both Sarah Gardner and Mary Starbuck in the Yarmouth Meetinghouse. And they proposed to settle on Nantucket.

The third was Nathaniel Paddack, a brother of Ichabod, still unmarried. Still another Quaker addition to the Island was Abigail (Hall) Hussey, whom Batchelor Hussey, Stephen's son, married in 1704 in Hampton (Mass.) Meeting. Thus the Quaker population had risen in the early summer of 1704 to about twenty persons; for Barnabas Starbuck, and his brother-in-law John Coleman Jr. as well as Capt. Nathaniel Gardner, Sarah's son had all thrown in their lot with Friends. Opposition was now crystalizing as Chalkley had observed. Looking at the situation as he saw it in 1704, it is understandable that Chalkley should ~~look~~ think back to his 1698 intervention as being the decisive step in establishing a Quaker group on the Island.

This group of Quakers were transformed into an officially constituted Meeting for Worship of the Society of Friends before the summer was out. This was essentially the work of Thomas Story, as before indicated, Penn's Deputy in Pennsylvania, who next appeared on the scene. Story should have been the outstanding 18th century Quaker (though unknown to most present-day Nantucketers) except that he was dogged with scandal - perhaps because he was a cut socially above Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Penn could get away with his aristocratic bearing in the 17th century Quaker world, but pressures now called for a premium on conformity. Among Story's friends were numbered Archibishops and Kings - even Czar Peter the Great claimed him as an intimate. Story had been raised an Anglican squire, and he had married the daughter of the Mayor of Philadelphia. Like Chalkley he was a trans-Atlantic Friend moving both in Philadelphia and in London Quaker circles. In fact he moved back to Britain, where he was the center of a sensational Quaker "trial" - and though acquitted of the charges made by a neurotic woman Friend, the notoriety cost him the clerkship of London Yearly Meeting.

Like Richardson, providentially, Story kept a full Journal, one even more informative than his predecessor. He records landing at Capaum Harbor, and going straight to dinner with Sarah Gardner. There he learned that a special criminal court was sitting to try Sabo Finch, an Indian, for having murdered his wife, while drunk. In consequence Story decided against any appointed meeting. Rather he set off to persuade Capt. John Gardner the crusty old revolutionary fighter to pardon Finch. This was in fact the first murder committed on the Island. Gardner had no intention of being swayed by heretics, even by William Penn's personal deputy. He could not be expected to have understood that Margaret Finch's death was a tragic indictment of a superior culture clashing with one less sophisticated. John Gardner had also been known to favor selling rum to the natives.

Gardner took the opportunity of attacking the religious views of George Fox, quoting specifically a "Friend" who had made some unscriptural remarks in the 1660s probably in his hearing. Luckily Susannah Freeborn, the woman's rights advocate, was on hand, and quick as a wink she indentified the speaker as a follower of the anarchist Friend John Perrot - very probably the very Jane Stokes who had visited Nantucket just forty years before. Furthermore Anyway, Story soon proved Gardner had no systematic notion of God or man and was in fact parrotting his attacks. Then anger took the place of argument. Thereupon Priscilla Gardner burst into tears at her husband's lack of courtesy in his own home. She may well have been frightened for his health. In any case he died in two years time.

And Finch was executed. Story then got into an argument with Martha Hussey, Stephen's wife, who chose the field of predestination. After being worsted, showing temper and then

tears, and finally a "gentle" and "loving" side, Story wrote in his Journal that she was "a very rigid and ignorant Presbyterian". In any case Meetings for Worship were held at the Monomoy House of Stephen Hussey and at the Polpis residence of John Swain. The Indians attracted by Story's humanitarian approach crowded in at both places - that at Monomoy being described as "a large Good Meeting". At Polpis two missionaries sent out by the Puritan "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" among the Indians appeared. One of these proposed a test of physical endurance which no doubt would carry weight with tht Indians. Story simply did not cooperate. Of such missionaries he wrote -

> ... poor Hireling(who) search all comers for settled maintenance, several such from time to time, had made their attempt upon this People (on Nantucket) on that account, but were disappointed; for there was in this Island one Nathaniel Starbuck, whose wife was ... so that when at any time such Hirelings come to preach among them, and attempted to have a settled maintainance, she always opposed it with solid arguments as being contrary to Apostles and Primitives ...

But as Story pointed out, she would give all comers hospitality. He also pointed out that Susannah Freehorn and her companion Esther Palmer, another spinster, daughter of Joseph of Flushing Meeting, removed "all objections ... at once against Women's preaching. Very probably Mary Starbuck had herself by this time begun to "bear testimony" in Meetings for Worship. Parenthetically Esther Palmer forsook her single blessedness in 1711 when on a religious trip to Great Britain. Story had this to say about the Great Mary -

> A wise discreet woman well read in the Scriptures

and not attached to any Sect, but in great reputation in matters of religion, and an oracle among them on that account, inasmuch as they would not do anything without her advice and consent therein.

Attachment in this sense meant under the discipline of a religious body. And since there was no Meeting on the Island technically she was not an active Quaker. This weighed on Thomas so that after several appointed Meetings, on the night before the visitors were to depart -

... My sleep was taken away from me, under a concern of mind for the settlement of a Meeting there; and though there were two men under the Profession of Truth among them (Stephen Hussey and John Swain), they had not been faithful, nor of good report, but a stumblingblock in the way of the weak, for they could not agree among themselves, and one of them (Hussey) was at odds with many of his neighbors, so that they were set aside, and the chief instrument ... was Mary Starbuck ... to whom I made it known ... and laid a charge upon her to have a Meeting established in their family, once a week at least, and to wait upon the Lord with all who were convinced of the Truth in the neighborhood, and in the Island, as they had conveniancy ... This she received with Christian Gravity ... and it became her concern

... I proposed it likewise to her children, who were all discreet young men and women (apparently he did not meet Eunice Gardner, who was opposed to the settlement of Quakerism) ... and being convinced of Truth. They were ready to embrace the Proposal ...

Thus on First Days at 11:00 the little group started meeting at the new Parliament House, twenty members, and probably as many

children and other visitors. Mary Starbuck was already accounted a minister. In this service she was joined by her daughter Priscilla and son Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and (surprisingly perhaps) John Swain. Technically this was an "indulged" Meeting for Worship, gathered under the authority of New England Yearly Meeting - in effect under the care of Rhode Island M.M. centered at Newport.

As Story reported, "Accordingly some time after we departed the Island, they did meet and the Lord did visit them ... And several able living ministers were raised up by the arm of the Lord.". On his way back Thomas Story stopped over in Edgartown with Mrs. John Coffin and Deborah (Austin) Coffin. Her mother Sarah Austin had become a Quaker and Minister in Dover N.H. Deborah now sought to be identified with Nantucket Meeting, along with her son Samuel Coffin. Major Coffin only affiliated with Friends in 1708. Samuel married in 1704 his cousin Miriam Gardner, daughter of Richard Jr. and Mary (Austin) Gardner, (another daughter of the Dover Quaker Minister). Both Miriam and her mother were listed as members before 1704 was out as well. It is strange that Sarah (Starbuck) Austin apparently did not visit till 1708, and thus avoided any direct influence upon her brother and sister-in-law. They must have known Sarah was a Quaker, as obviously they realized their youngest daughter Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway was a Quaker member at Acushnet in Dartmouth.

In the early summer of 1705 Peleg Slocumb was back bringing Hugh Copperthwaite, the first public Friend to find his way to Nantucket, seven years before. Now he met with a score or more Quakers on the Island. William Anthony, merchant from Newport, a brother-in-law of Susannah Freeborn came along; and two women Friends, Mary Banister of Devonshire House M.M. London, home of the mother of Yearly Meetings, and Ann Chapman,

spinster minister of Middletown M.M. Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Probably it was Mary Banister who encouraged the young Nantucket group to adopt the numerical calendar, characteristic of traditional Quakerism. In any case Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. who succeeded Sir William Gayer as Town Clerk, adopted the Quaker method of dating at this time.

At the time of their visit Mary Starbuck's brother Stephen Coffin, and his son Stephen Coffin Jr., the latter active in town affairs came into the Meeting. The latters wife Experience (Look) Coffin joined him. Also declared Quakers at that time included Anna Trott, wife of John, and her daughters Tabetha (Trott) Frost and Mary Trott, as well as a sister-in-law Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright. Membership of the indulged Meeting stood at 35 or so.

In 1706 as the Probate Court was established as a separate entity to the ordinary County Court, a most eminent Quaker physician John Fothergill from Yorkshire appeared with William Armistead, a literary Friend also from the old country. With them was the indefatiguable Susannah Freeborn, with Hope Borden in tow this time. And finally an elderly Pennsylvanian, John Smith, founder of Darby Meeting made up the complement. Fothergill kept a journal, but his Nantucket reference is sketchy. He noted that the inhabitants attended Meetings "freely" and that "strengthening"power was experienced. His report in 1707 to London Yearly Meeting was fuller -

> On Nantucket Island there is a fine openness and gladness to hear the Truth Declared and some gathering to it, and believe will become a pretty people. Then also came some of the Indians were very attentive and one said tho' he understood not our words yet laying his hand on his breast said it did him good there.

It was probable that the Baptist worship group withered away by 1706, so that the only "service" was Quaker Meeting. It would appear that John Folger and his son Jethro Folger came into Meeting at this time - the former being uncle to John Coleman Jr. and to Benjamin Franklin, just moving from Boston to Philadelphia. Jabez Bunker also declared for Friends after his marriage to Judith Gardner daughter of Capt. Nathaniel, as did she. Also Jabez's sister Ann (Bunker) Paddack who married Nathaniel Paddack in 1706 in the Yarmouth Meeting - but they moved to Nantucket. Finally another Yarmouth Friend Mary (Daggett) Howes, a widow, moved over to live with Stephen Hussey's flamboyant daughter, Abigail (Hussey) Howes, also widow of a Yarmouth Friend. Abigail did not become a Quaker until some years after her second marriage. She was the talk of Nantucket, for in 1704 she built a mansion (still standing on Orange St.) complete with mansard roof, and with fireplaces resplendent with imported Dutch tiles. She had inherited a fortune from her husband's people, who had been governors in Plymouth. The Meeting was swelling up to the 50 figure at which it was judged satisfactory to acquire Monthly Meeting status.

Later in 1706 another group of visitors appeared, encouraged by Thomas Story to see that all was well on the Island. Esther Palmer of Flushing who had been with him appeared with Mary Lawson an English Friend of whom we know little. Ephriam Hicks who had been on the Island with John Hussey and company in 1703 was back, this time with Joseph Wanton, an Elder of Tiverton Meeting (founded 1700) part of Rhode Island M.M., brother-in-law of the ubiquitous Susannah Freeborn. Wanton was a ship-builder. Only by 1713, however, was one of his craft purchased by Nantucketers. Later in 1706 there is record

of Thomas Hathaway bringing supplies to the Starbuck emporium. No doubt he stayed on for First Day Meeting if it was convenient.

The only visitors in 1707 were Jacob and Joanna Mott, bringing books worth 20 shillings, as above noticed, Rachel Trott still another of Anna's daughters married Thomas Gorham in Yarmouth Meeting, he being a cousin of the two Nantucket Quaker brothers. Judith (Coffin) Folger, recently widowed (daughter of Stephen and Experience) declared herself a Friend, as did Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, sister of Dorcas Starbuck, and daughter of Sir William Gayer, now retired. As if in preparation for still another, (a Quaker Court), in 1707 the Court of Common Pleas on Nantucket was divided from the Appellate Court of Judicature.

The next visitors came in 1708. Patrick Henderson of Dunglady, County Derry, Ireland in company with Ebeneezer Slocumb of the 1699 visit. Their appointment was by New England Yearly Meeting to receive the request for the establishment of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, the account of which comes in a later chapter. Sufficient it is to notice that 41 Quaker visitors had come during the gestation period of ten years. A dozen of these came from across the seas. Of particular importance were: Thomas Chalkley, Atlantic Friend, two visits 1698 and 1704; John Richardson, English, 1702; Thomas Story, Atlantic, 1704; snd Patrick Henderson, Irish, 1708. Less important were: Thomas Turner, English, 1698; Thomas Thompson Jr., English, 1701; Samuel Bownas, Atlantic, 1703; John Butler, Irish, 1703; Mary Banister, English, 1705; John Fothergill, English, 1706; William Armistead, English, 1706; and Mary Lawson, English, 1706.

29 were American Friends, of whom 13 came from Rhode Island Monthly Meeting - and only five from other New England Monthly Meetings. Again those of particular importance were Hugh Copper-

thwaite, Flushing, 1698 and 1705; Jacob Mott, Partsmouth, 1699, 1701, 1712, 1703 and 1707; Joanna (Slocumb) Mott, Partsmouth, 1698 and 1707; Ebeneezer Slocumb, Conanicut, 1699 and 1708; Jacob Mott Jr., Portsmouth, 1701 and 1704; Susannah Freeborn, Newport, 1701,1702, 1704 and 1706; Peleg Slocumb, Apponegansett, 1704, 1705 1706; Mary (Holder) Slocumb, Apponegansett, 1704 and Esther Palmer, Flushing, 1704 and 1706. There were nine influential American Friends (as contrasted to two Atlantic and two European). Two were from New York: two from Dartmouth (Mass.) five were Rhode Islanders. Six belonged essentially to one family. They made 23 visits as contrasted to the five made by the other influential Friends. Left out of this calculation are Thomas and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway, whose names were not listed as they were considered to be of the Nantucket family. He was certainly twice on the Island(1698 and 1706).

Less important American Friends may be divided into political figures, and others. In the first grouping was Gov. John Easton, Newport, 1698; Gov. Walter Clarke, Newport, 1701; Gov. John Clarke, Newport, 1701; Jedidiah Allen, Shrewsbury N.J. Counsellor, 1703; John Kinsey Jr., Woodbridge N.J., Counsellor, 1703; and Joseph Wanton, Tiverton, Counsellor, 1706. Total six. In the second grouping were : John Estaugh, Haddonfield J.J., 1700; Thomas Steere, Providence, 1700; Ruth Fry, Newport, 1701; James Bates, Scimino, Va., 1702; John Hussey, Newcastle, Del, 1704; Richard Gove, Plymouth, Penna, 1704; Ephriam Hicks, Newport, 1704; Richard Harper, Falmouth, 1704; William Anthony, Newport, 1705; Ann Chapman, Middletown, Penna, 1705; John Smith, Darby, Penna., 1706; and Hope Borden, Newport, 1706. Total twelve. Of this 18, seven were from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (two New Jersey, one Delaware, four Pennsylvania - six if Atlantic Friends are counted). One Virginian arrived - none from Carolina. Sevan

of the Americans actually lived in Newport - two in Philadelphia. A total of at least 43 individual visits were recorded or about five per year (nine years culculation). As they probably stayed an average of five days each this indicated the equivalent of three weeks effort each summer. This pattern of visisation was kept up all during the 18th century and well into the 19th. It meant in effect that the Society of Friends could marshall a three weeks annual mission in every important Quaker center the world over. Naturally a handicraft economy made for mobility. If each of the 35 Monthly Meetings in America received what Nantucket did, which certainly was the case, at least 100 weeks were so organized. In Great Britain the number would be higher. It is probably correct to state that every day of the year a Quaker Minister held an appointed Meeting away from home. No wonder such an array of talent could be spent on Nantucket. Never was it better spent.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 5.

## NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING IN 1708

### MENS MEETING

In considering the names of the twenty-two adult males who apparently constituted the original membership of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, it is possible to trace the influences which brought the Meeting into being. At least it is possible to trace family influences. The first of these stemd from the fact that one of Nathaniel Starbuck's sisters became a Quaker, probably about 1685 in Dover, New Hampshire. She visited Nantucket on occasion, and two of her daughters married on to the Islands. One married John Coffin, Nathaniel's brother-in-law in Edgartown. The other married a Gardner on Nantucket - more of her later. Maj. John Coffin was no pacifist. He served as captain of the militia in the Mayhew realm, at least until its transfer from New York to Massachusetts. In 1708 he was 71 years of age, retired, living in the Harborside House which still stands near the Mayhew Manor. The founding of the Nantucket Meeting coincided with his golden wedding anniversary, and his removal from the "faraway" Island which his father Tristram had settled. He then joined his wife as a charter Quaker member - in fact started the Edgartown "indulged" Meeting for Worship - a Quaker gathering which lasted on and off for another half century and more.

One of John Coffin's sons was also listed as a charter

member. He was Samuel Coffin, aged 28, flour miller in Nantucket town, to which place he had removed three years before, to marry a maternal Gardner cousin (also a granddaughter of the New Hampshire Starbuck Quakeress). In fact the grandmother came to live with them in 1708, as a widow, to help the new Quaker Meeting, and to enjoy their two children, among her many great-grandchildren. Samuel Coffin was a most active Nantucket citizen, serving as Constable in 1704, the year of his marriage, and in 1708 was commissioned to build the town a woollen mill on what was then the Lily Pond.

The third Coffin among the charter members, was John's brother , Stephen Coffin, aged 61, a gentleman sheep farmer living in the homestead on Capaum Harbor in which the Nantucket founder, Tristram Coffin, had made his home, and where he had died 27 years before. Unlike John, Stephen had no Quaker wife to influence him. In fact his pro-Puritan Bunker spouse was always cold to Quakerism. Stephen joined Friends because of his sister, Nathaniel Starbuck's wife, whose convincement in 1702 was the vital element in the development, as is well known. Stephen Coffin Sr. and his namesake son were both Selectmen the year the Monthly Meeting started. The father had served on a committee recently to lay out town lots at the present harbor, and to divide common land. In fact he was bringing an active civic career to a close.

The fourth charter member belonging to the Coffin name was Stephen Coffin Jr., aged 33, more active than his cousin, Samuel, in town affairs, and the chief operator of the sheep shearing monoply held by the Coffin family and its associates. Stephen Jr. was by far the most concerned Quaker of the four, being accounted a Minister, or Public Friend, of which there were only three in the original Nantucket Men's Meeting. Fifteen years

before Stephen had married a Bunker cousin from the Vineyard by the name of Look. She proved to be as active a Quaker as her husband. They had three young children, in 1708. Stephen was a completely "political animal", devoted to the welfare of town and proprietary. In 1707 he had handled the annual sheep round-up - "commoning" as it was called. He usually kept the swine pound - assessed properties for taxation, moderated town meetings, served as Selectman, oversaw repairs to town buildings - and generally served the town clerk as right-hand man.

Of equal importance to Stephen Coffin Jr. in town affairs was his cousin, Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., son of the Quaker founder, and nephew of the Dover N.H. Quakeress; both ministers. And so was Nathaniel Jr.! And as well he was Clerk of the Men's Meeting (which wah held in his home). Nathaniel had begun his career as a blacksmith, then continued as equipper of whale boats, and finally finished as Director of the Starbuck whaling enterprises. He was Town Clerk, Clerk to the Proprietary (which controlled land-, and immensely rich compared to all other Nantucketers. Curiously he was also genuinely sensitive and religiously inclined. Nathaniel's convincement is traceable to his mother, and to a sister (who had married into the Dartmouth Friends Meeting in 1696, where she became a Minister, and brought Public Friends to Nantucket in her husband's sloop first in 1698). Nathaniel, then 40, had seven children all of whom were raised to be Quakers. Eighteen years before he had wed a Coffin cousin who elected the Quaker way, though her father, Magistrate James Coffin, did not respond to his sister's Quaker insight, as did his brothers, Stephen and John.

As young Stephen Coffin stood to his father namesake, in things Quaker, so did young Nathaniel Starbuck to his father, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., who was then aged 72, and like his wife,

and Stephen Coffin Sr. (his brother-in-law) were original settlers of the Island: part of the second generation, Edward Starbuck had lived with them in the so-called (semi-public) "Parliament House", which served as Indian store, town hall and church, till his death 18 years before. There his Dover N.H. Quaker sister must have visited on occasion. Edward Starbuck, their father, had been an antinomian Baptist lay preacher - one or two degrees removed from Quakerism. Yet Nathaniel Sr. only joined Friends after his wife and children had taken the plunge. He too was drawing an active civic career to a close - in fact was the last regular town officer to oversee the annual Indian spring planting.

It is interesting to note that three of Edward Starbuck's five children became Quakers. (The last also living in Dover N.H.) Only three of Tristram Coffin's seven followed suit. In the next generation, five of Nathaniel Starbuck's eight children became Quakers (though it must be added the eldest two died before the Monthly Meeting got started). Only two of Magistrate James Coffin's twelve children became Quakers - this probably very naturally. On the otherhand only three of John Coffin's Edgartown brood joined Friends, while similarly three of Stephen Coffin's Nantucket household were listed as Quakers. John left eight, and Stephen nine children in all.

As the Coffins counted four charter members, so did the Starbucks. Nathaniel Sr. had three Quaker sons in all. Second in importance to the Men's Clerk, was his brother Jethro Starbuck, aged 37, who had married 14 years before the gifted daughter of Sir William Gayer, an English Baron, whose fortune they shared, and whose influence in educational matters allowed her to be chosen the clerk to the Women's Meeting. Jethro was a whaling captain, a well concerned Elder in the Meeting, and indeed the

the prototype of the early 18th century Quaker on Nantucket. Jethro was also given care of the Island's fences. In fact the town had to be "fenced in" against the herds of animals, which would otherwise wreak havoc in family vegetable gardens. He was usually chosen Selectman, often Constable, many times Supervisor of Indian affairs - and not infrequently asked to moderate the revolutionary zeal of Stephen Hussey, the Island's chief agitator. He was the father of five Quaker childfen. And finally there was brother Barnabas Starbuck, aged 35, rather surprisingly a bachelor. He kept the Indian store for his aging parents, and served the Meeting as its first treasurer. With Jethro he was also active in civic affairs.

Closely associated with the three Starbuck brothers was their brother-in-law, John Coleman Jr., aged 41; eldest son of John Coleman Sr. and his late Folger wife whom he had long before wed. John was a sheep farmer, as his father and grandfather had been from the beginning of the settlement. But in the grandson's case the electarian Baptist influence of Peter Folger, ablest of the first generation, had justified itself. (Another of Folger'S grandsons was none other than Benjamin Franklin.) But John Coleman Jr. had also married a Quaker Starbuck, who was like her mother, aunt, and brother, a minister of note. Thus John Jr. could hardly escape his Quakerism. He was one of the petitioners for Monthly Meeting, along with his two married brothers-in-law and Stephen Hussey. He had four Quaker children. Only one brother of his seven siblings embraced his religion. It seems that John Coleman timed Meetings for Worship - in other words sat on the highest seat next the Clerk. In town affairs John Coleman was to be found closely associated with Nathaniel and Jethro Starbuck and with Stephen Coffin Jr. - laying out house lots, in doing jury duty and taking rascally Indians into

indentured service.

It happened however, that John Coleman's uncle, John Folger, did come into the Meeting. In 1708 the younger of Peter Folger's sons was aged 49. He was a flour miller as was Samuel Coffin. 21 years earlier he had married into the genteel Barnard family - a milieu which was not favorable to radical Quaker egalitarianism. His wife stayed out of Meeting, but six of John's ten children followed his example. John Folger was alone a Quaker in Peter Folger's family (composed of nine offspring). Two of John's children came to Meeting as young adults. The eldest was Jethro Folger, aged 19, at that time a promising young mariner, attached to the Starbuck enterprises, while keeping company with the eldest daughter of the whaling magnate, destined to sit head of Nantucket one far day in the future. It would appear that the Coleman and Folger interest in Nantucket Quakerism derived from the Starbucks but in his youth Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. had been apprenticed to Peter Folger who influenced him and then had he had become an intimate friend of John Folger's.

The first Quaker on Nantucket, however, was John Swain, English born, who came with the first pioneers in 1661. Unfortunately for the Quaker story, he married a Puritan, and settled as a sheep farmer at Polpis in an isolated corner of the Island. In consequence only one of his seven children showed interest in Friends, though he was officially inscribed a member and Minister, - In 1708, when aged 75, ~~xxx~~ One of his sons had married a daughter of Peter Folger, but the amalgam offered nothing to the Society of Friends. Swain played only a minimal role in town affairs.

More promising was the case of second Quaker on the Island - that is the second male Quaker - Stephen Hussey, who had been one of the four male petitioners for the Monthly Meeting.

Stephen was then aged 78, the doyen of the group, having been convinced of Quaker principles on the Island of Barbadoes thirty-xxxx-six years before - very possibly under the ministry of George Fox, the Quaker founder. Four years later he arrived on Nantucket a middle aged bachelor lawyer eager to mix into the governmental crisis of the time. At first he had been identified with the Coffin land monopoly group but by 1708 he was in direct conflict with them and the town and proprietary. His litigious temperament was destined to produce the first real testing time for the Meeting. As he had married an anti-Quaker Bunker (sister to Stephen Coffin's wife) his family was mixed in its attitude toward Quakerism. Among his seven children both his eldest and youngest daughters were committed to Friends (though the youngest was a mere child). One son had already come out for Quakerism, because of his marriage to a North Shore Quakeress. All but one child would eventually join the Meeting.

Stephen Hussey's eldest daughter had thirteen years earlier married Shubael Gorham, born a Cape Cod Quaker (Sandwich Monthly and Yarmouth Preparative Meetings). At first they lived in Barnstable, but in 1704 they were brought to Nantucket to develop a whalers' outfitting shop. Shubael was then aged 33, and was father to five children. With him came his brother Stephen Gorham, similarly a Cape Cod Quaker, from the Bass River area. In that year Stephen, aged 23, married a Gardner girl, granddaughter of Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. (and as it happened, the first Quakeress in New England was her Gardner grandmother). This marriage coincided with the creation of the Nantucket Meeting for Worship, which was set up in the Parliament House. Stephen Gorham, mariner, had two children in 1708.

Stephen Hussey's second son, Batchelor Hussey, aged 28, had married in that crucial year of 1704, bringing a Quaker bride

named Hall, from Hampton, Mass. This farming associate, who operated the Hussey sheep interests turned to shoe-making and had one child by 1708. He was also able to comprehend the mercurial temperament of his Quaker father. Batchelor was soon to develop an active civic career.

The second Quaker on Nantucket was a widow in 1708, "relict" of Richard Gardner, the first of that name, who had introduced coastal travelling in 1664. A quarter centery later Capt. Gardner died, leaving a numerous prgeny, nine children in all, only one of whom elected to follow his mother's faith. He was Nathaniel Gardner, like his father a ship's captain, in 1708 aged 39. This fourth son of Richard had married 18 years before - a daughter of magistrate James Coffin. She was ailing when the Monthly Meeting was created and was soon to be buried in the first grave dug in the old north (Puritan) cemetery. Nathaniel nevertheless acted in close collaboration with Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. in business, in politics and as a fellow Quaker minister. All but three of his family of nine children would be drawn into the Meeting. The four eldest were already young adults. In fact Nathaniel's eldest son, Ebeneezer Gardner, aged 20 was "keeping company" with a Coffin "ward" of Jethro Starbuck's, a granddaughter of Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., and of Judge Peter Coffin of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire (the eldest of Tristram's sons). In time Ebeneezer would inherit his father's and grandfather's coastwise trading business. One of minister Nathaniel's daughters had married Jabez Bunker, aged 30, two years before. Jabez was a nephew of the anti-Quaker Bunker wives already referred to, but as his father William Bunker had married an antinomian Macy, the resistance to Quakerism was broken in his branch of the family. He was one of seven sons, of whom one other became a Quaker. And already one of his two sisters had married still another of the Yarmouth Quakers to

move on to the Island. Jabez was associated with his father-in-law in coastal shipping.

The other two Quaker Bunkers may be noted as follows: the brother Benjamin Bunker, aged 25, a whaler, was paying attention to a Bass River girl named Paddack, whose brother Nathaniel Paddack, aged 23, had married his Quaker sister two years before. The Paddack family was not unknown on the Island, as their older brother had been brought to Nantucket in 1690, by Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. to introduce whaling techniques. Naturally both Nathaniel Paddack and Benjamin Barnard were active in this livelihood. It would appear that the development of shore whaling, particularly in 1704 as promoted by the Starbucks, served to bring Cape Cod Quakers' influences to bear on the Island. Thus the Husseys, Gorhams and Paddacks came into the orbit of the Meeting. And it must have been Starbuck initiative which activated the Gardner interest as well, bringing in the Bunkers for good measure.

A last male member was Matthew Jenkins, a 17 year old native Quaker of Bridport, England, but more pecently of the Vineyard, who precociously married a niece of minister Nathaniel Gardner two years before, when only 15 years of age. He was a whaling hand, father already to one child. Only two of his wife's sisters came within the Quaker orbit (despite a Macy mother) of a family of six. The elder of these had married Joseph Paddack, aged 38, an older brother of Nathaniel, who lived on the Cape. Two of their children eventually moved to Nantucket. But this marriage occurring as it did the year Hephzibah the Starbuck daughter married into Dartmouth Meeting, must have made the Nantucket settlement very Quaker conscious (two years before the first "public" Friends visited the Island). Apparently the Nathaniel Starbucks welcomed the connection. There is no indication that the Joseph Gardners felt as pleased.

In summarizing the twenty-two founding male members, 14 were young men, three were middle aged, while five were elderly; in all a good omen for the future. Their occupations were as follows: two merchants; two ship captains; one lawyer; two millers; one shoemaker; one herdsman; three farmers; eight whalers and three retired men - thus half "bourgeois" and half yeoman in composition. When Nantucket Meeting was a quarter century old, that is in 1733, it had just built a Meetinghouse to seat fifteen hundred people. The growth over fulfilled all expectations. At this point it is interesting to forecast the roles to be played by the original twenty-two. Naturally the five greybeards were gone, or almost; Stephen Hussey, the eldest, passed away in 1718, but not before being disowned the year before, aged 87. A whole chapter deserves to be written in what that involved. Three years before that John Swain was gone, aged 82. The third in line, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. lasted till 1719, aged 83, two years after his famous wife. John Coffin was the first to go in 1711, aged 74, about the time the original Meetinghouse was built. Only Stephen Coffin Sr. outlived the period, destined to die the next year, aged 87.

Of the three middle aged men only one had died. He was John Folger, in 1732, aged 73. John Coleman Jr. and Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. were still pillars in the Meeting. Some unexpected departures occurred among the young fourteen. Nathaniel Gardner died on a religious trip to Britain in 1714, aged 44, stripping the Meeting of one of its most promising figures. Barnabas Starbuck emigrated to Newport, after the settlement of his father's estate in 1722, to act as representative of Starbuck interests at the heart of New England Quakerism. There he died in 1732, aged 59. Another major loss was the death of Stephen Coffin Jr. in 1725, aged 50, leaving Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. as

the sole survivor of three original men ministers. That year (1725) marked the opening of a missionary Congregational Church supported by the Massachusetts government to win Nantucket back from "heresy". Benjamin Bunker who married the Paddack girl, perished at sea in 1721 (with three of his brothers) aged 41. Thus ten of the young men lived on into middle age - thirteen of the twenty-two all in all. Nine had died.

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Opposition to the setting up of a Quaker Meeting came from a group of townspeople who mirrored suspicions regarding the "establishment" - in fact members of the "democratic" clique dating from the troubled times of the 1670s. But curiously they included the descendants in the main of Judge Peter Coffin as well, who built the Sunset Hill House in 1686, the so-called "oldest house" as a peace offering between the factions. Both the democratic and aristocratic elements involved were Puritan in essence. And curiously the powerful Macy family associated themselves, till at least 1711, with the anti-Quaker party, but their anti-puritanism finally won out, especially as they were drawn into partnership in the Starbuck enterprises. Obviously Nantucket was in the midst of an economic revolution in 1708, moving from dependance upon wool to promotion of whale oil. When the Macys joined Friends nothing was left as a bulwark for the anti-Quaker party but the County Courthouse, and the sympathy of Boston's ruling autocracy.

Until his death in 1706 Capt. John Gardner, Richard's brother, (who succeeded Tristram Coffin as chief magistrate) managed to prevent visiting Public Friends from getting to the Island, at least from 1680 on (when Falmouth and Yarmouth Meetings were founded) till 1698, when the Dartmouth Quakers broke the spell. John Gardner's son, George Gardner, who had married Nathaniel Starbuck's one Puritan-inclined daughter, and his sons-in-law Jethro Coffin of Sunset Hill, and James Coffin Jr. (and

← OMIT UNDERLINING

his brothers Ebeneezer Coffin and Jonathan Coffin) all opposed Quaker peculiarities, which they made out to be ridiculous. They found allies in John Swain Jr., Joseph Swain and Benjamin Swain, who were unconsciously ashamed of their father's weak Quakerism, and in Peter Gardner, brother-in-law of Samuel Coffin (grandson of the Starbuck Quakeress of Dover), who similarly lacked respect for his mother's poor adherence to Quaker principles. Finally there was an assortment of newcomers to Nantucket, who being "outsiders" were inclined to join any opposition group. Among these was John Arthur, Thomas Bunker (with an Arthur wife), Jedidiah Fitch, and the Coleman brothers; Thomas Coleman and Isaac Coleman (whose wives were off-Islanders). The best reasoned opposition came from Eleazer Folger, Nantucket representative in the Massachusetts Legislature, a man who cherished a classical education, and had been the first school teacher on the Island. His position was however balanced by that of Sir William Gayer, who saw no contradiction between scholarship and the Quaker method, though not a member. The anti-Quakers were in the main anti-ecclesiastical, and thus it took some time before they or some of them could agree to sponsor a rival church. Between the twenty or so Quaker households and the fifteen or so anti-Quaker families, there was a group of some twenty others, who, while not members of either party, were not averse to sharing in their ways of life.

## WOMENS MEETING

The Womens Monthly Meeting which was gathered in the Parliament House a month after the men, was composed of 29, rather than 22 adult members, making a total of 51 adults (and perhaps 30 children - thus a grand total of about 80 persons: - ~~almost half~~ not a third of the white population of the Island).

Among these was the original Quakeress, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, widow of Capt. Richard, then aged 77, and the doyenne of the group. She had nine shildren, only one of whom, Capt. Nathaniel, was a Quaker - a minister too. Sarah's brother, Samuel Shattuck, was the best known of the family, having personally been commissioned by King Charles II to stop the persecution of Quakers in Boston in 1660 - when they were being hanged. Samuel and his sister were among the original convincements in New England in 1656. In fact their mother Sarah Shattuck had been whipped through the streets of Salem in 1657. Thus daughter Sarah was possibly the first New England Quakeress - almost one might say the original American Quakeress. She herself had suffered imprisonment for her religion in the 1670s, but on Nantucket she was neutralized by Capt. John Gardner, her brother-in-law. John Swain was a weak reed, and Stephen Hussey unpredictable. When her granddaughter Sarah (Gardner) Paddack married into Yarmouth Meeting on the Cape in 1696 Sarah Gardner's latent Quakerism came alive, and soon she entertained Public Friends on their travels. Hers at least was a Quaker home! She then lived with her son James, whose first wife Mary (Starbuck) Gardner had been a daughter of Nathaniel and the "great" Mary (Coffin) Starbuck. Thus their children were all shepherded into the Meeting by grandmother Gardner, though James stayed away to marry successively three additional Puritan wives. Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, aged 17, was already in the Womens Meeting, as wife to whaler Stephen, who had come over from the Cape four years before. Two additional granddaughters were so situated (cousins to Elizabeth Gorham). The first of these was Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, aged 22, wife of Jabez, daughter of minister Nathaniel. The other was Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, aged 23, daughter of Richard Jr. and his Quaker wife Mary (Austin) Gardner. (It should be noted here that another granddaughter,

Sarah Paddack, was daughter of Sarah's eldest son Joseph - thus her four Quaker granddaughters came from four of her nine children.) Miriam Coffin was the wife of miller Samuel who came over from Edgartown.

Miriam was of course, also a granddaughter to Sarah (Starbuck Story - Austin, who had come as a minister from Dover, N.H. to help the new Meeting, and despite her age - 76 years - remained for three years and then left - to remarry a third time. Miriam's mother, Mary Gardner, aged 53, was an inactive Friend, while her aunt (and mother-in-law) in Edgartown, Deborah (Austin) Coffin, aged 56, was more concerned for Quaker affairs. Deborah converted her husband John in his old age, and set up the Vineyard Meeting for Worship. Grandmother Sarah Austin may have had an influence upon her brother, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. and upon his more famous wife, Mary (Coffin) Starbuck. The Great Mary was then aged 72. As Tristram's child she understood the value of good government. As Edward Starbuck's daughter-in-law she appreciated true spirituality. She had become a Friend six years before and started the Nantucket Meeting for Worship two years after that. She was naturally a Quaker Minister in her own right as was her daughter Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, aged 32, wife of John Jr. ~~and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck~~ Then there were her two daughters-in-law; Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck. Dinah was aged 32, wife to the Mens Clerk, while Dorcas, aged 33, was the Womens Clerk. Dorcas' sister Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, aged 35, was also a member, though their father, Sir William remained aloof. Their brother (namesake of the father), had gone back to England to inherit his wife's title. Eventually one of Damaris' Children would become the Quaker schoolmaster, where the Latin erudition of his grandfather stood him in good stead. Damaris' husband, Capt. Nathaniel, was a son of Magistrate James, who was in turn Dinah's father.

Neither father nor son were interested in Quakerism.

But another of James' daughters was. Her name was Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker, and although only 27, was mother to nine Quaker children by Jonathan Bunker, a non-Quaker brother of Jabez. Other Quakers in the Coffin family involved Stephen's family. First was Judith (Coffin) Folger, aged 30, his widowed daughter, whose late husband, Peter, was born a son to Representative Eleazer. She was already an Elder, due to marry twice again. Her sister-in-law, wife of Stephen Jr., Experience (Look) Coffin, aged 33, was also an Elder. She was born into a well-to-do Vineyard family, while her mother was a Bunker (it will be recalled). Two others of the Starbuck-Coffin "complex" were Mary Starbuck, aged 16, fiancee to Jethro Folger, and daughter of the Men's Clerk; and Eunice Coffin, aged 15, fiancee to Edenzeezer Gardner, then ward of Jethro Starbuck, , and daughter of the late Peter Coffin Jr., and his wife, Mary (Starbuck) Coffin - thus granddaughter to Judge Peter Coffin of New Hampshire, and of the Great Mary (Coffin) Starbuck. (Her parents had been double-first cousins - no wonder Nantucket families are difficult to trace.) She was to die in ten years.

We have touched on the Bunker family. It is interesting that Jabez' sister, Ann (Bunker) Paddack, aged 23, was in the Meeting as wife to Nathaniel who had emigrated from the Cape. Still another sister was Abigail Bunker, aged 19, tremendously interested in Quakerism in its own right, not because of any young man on the horizon. Then there was Puella (Hussey) Gorham, wife of Shubael, daughter of Stephen, aged 41, who had come to live on Nantucket - and her sister-in-law, Abigail (Hall) Hussey, daughter of John of Hampton M.M., and wife to Batchelor, aged 28. A sister-in-law to the Husseys was one Mary (Daggett) Howes, aged 30, widow of Jeremiah Howes of Yarmouth, who though born in Edgartown lived with Abigail (Hussey) Howes, another of

Stephen's daughters - a worldly woman, not yet drawn into the Quaker orbit. Mary Howes would return to Cape Cod within the decade. Finally in this grouping comes Bethiah Folger, aged 16, daughter of John, who manifested an independent interest similar to that of Abigail Bunker.

Curiously the Elder who sat head of the Womens Meeting (as John Coleman Jr. did for the men) was Anna ( ? ) Trott, aged 53, wife of John (who was aloof to Quakerism). We do not even know Anna's maiden name. The Trotts appear to have lived on Nantucket from about 1677, that is for thirty years. In 1707 a daughter Rachael Trott married Thomas Gorham, Quaker, and cousin to Shubael and Stephen; and went to live in Yarmouth. It would appear that Anna Trott's convincement dated from that time. In any cade she was a petitioner for the Monthly Meeting with Mary Starbuck, Priscilla Coleman, and Doreas Starbuck; all names one would expect to meet. One other of Anna's daughters, Mary Trott, who was then 18 years of age, came into Meeting, as did a married daughter Tabotha (Trott) Frost, aged 27. Tabotha's husband, John Frost, had inherited the Nantucket schoolmaster's post when Eleazer Folger went to the Massachusetts Legislature. But he was soon to abandon the job, his wife, and family to become a privateer (in short a pirate). One other of this family to become a Quaker was Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, Anna Trott's sister-in-law, aged 48, a widow in straightened circumstances. Finally, and to match the account of the Mens Meeting, we come to Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, aged 22, sister of Sarah Paddack of Yarmouth (and thus the fifth granddaughter of Sarah Gardner) whose name completes the 29 involved.

In checking ages, the following run-down is encountered: three elderly, five middle-aged, and 19 young women Friends. (The men ran five elderly, three middle-aged, 14 young.) In looking forward to 1733 - the 25th anniversary, the following

losses occurred in the Womens Meeting - beginning with the elderly grouping. First Sarah Austin left in 1711, married Humphrey Varney, and died in 1720 in New Hampshire aged 92. Then Sarah Gardner died in 1724, likewise aged 92, and leaving 218 descendants on the Islands, fully half of the white population of Nantucket. Meanwhile Mary Starbuck, the founder died in 1717, aged 71. Nathaniel lived on two more years, it will be recalled.

In turning to the middled-aged grouping we find that Deborah Coffin of Edgartown died in 1718 aged 66, two years before her mother in Dover N.H. Her sister, Mary Gardner, died the year after her mother in 1721, aged 66 also. Anna Trott was due to die the next year (1734) aged 78. Elizabeth Cartwright, her sister-in-law, had already died in 1729, aged 69. Puella Gorham was very active - in fact the only such one in a total of eight women Friends (but emigrated to Cape Cod).

Most of the 19 were still about, Tabotha Frost, however, had been disowned in 1713, for marrying a Dr. Joseph Brown of Newport without waiting to learn definitively if her pirate husband who had deserted her, was really dead - as reported. She was the first Quaker to be put out of Nantucket Meeting. Her sister, Mary Trott, soon afterwards got a certificate to move to Long Island where she eventually married. Both were living in 1733 - Tabotha in Newport. Thus the Trott name vanished from the Meeting. Descendants would reappear in time. Thus among the women 17 were left, 8 had died, plus one disowned and three emigrated. In other words 29 of the charter adult members, better than 60% were on hand for the 25th anniversary.

The 50th anniversary in 1758 was naturally marked by a decided increase in "departures". Among the three original middle-aged members; Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. died in 1753 aged 85, while John Coleman Jr. and Puella Gorham still carried on (Puella

on the Cape). Among the 27 original "young" members, the following losses occurred (following the outline of their presentation in this chapter); Batchelor and Abigail (Hall) Hussey emigrated into Maine with their younger children in 1737, and were active Quakers there in 1758; Jabez Bunker had died in 1750 aged 72; Nathaniel Paddack had gome in 1756 aged 71; and Matthew Jenkins went in 1758, aged 67. Thus eight of the twenty - two original men were still about fifty years later. In tracing Women Friends we find that - Miriam (Gardner) Coffin died in 1750 aged 65; Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck passed on in 1747 aged 72; and Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck in 1750, aged 77; her sister Experience (Look) Coffin would die in 1759, aged 74 and Ann (Bunker) Paddack died in 1741 aged 56. Thus eleven of the original women's group were left (of 29 in all). As for the entire membership 19 of 51 had survived, a really impressive figure. In 1708 the Meeting had included six members who recalled the conferences of 1658 when plans to buy Nantucket was first mooted. In 1758 triple that number (18) could recall personally the religious inspiration and orientation which called Nantucket Meeting into existence; but five years later in 1763 a good many of the first generation, that is, those who were founding members had passed on. In that sense the original impetus was spent. A new generation took hold , far removed from the original dream which called Nantucket colony into existence; in fact history was moving from the old colonial era which politically speaking in 1763 so radically changed. Quaker-ism was about to find a new orientation in America, less easy going, more fanatic about infractions of its culture standards (or more properly expressed- its sub-cultural standards). This fact alone justifies a break in this story in 1763.

## CHAPTER 6.

## LEADERSHIP IN NANTUCKET FAMILY LIFE

In a closely intermarried community such as Nantucket, especially one in which whaling took the menfolk away so frequently, both patriarchal and matriarchal systems of leadership obtained. Naturally the Quaker insistence on men's and women's business Meetings reinforced this tendency. And in point of fact in listing members at decadal intervals, the patronymic arrangement is used for the Mens Meeting; while the distaff side generally follows female lines of descent. In addition there was a tendency to create an inverse law of primogeniture, simply because the younger children tended to be at home and to inherit family property. In many instances the older siblings had already been provided for. This arrangement, not dissimilar to the "rota" system among the princes of medieval Russia, allowed for a family to remain as a single unit until the youngest son died. Then the grandchildren were grouped into as many families as there had been sons in the previous generation, till in turn in each new family its youngest son had died. It is interesting to trace such family leadership on Nantucket to the middle of the 18th century at least - and to note where this arrangement coincided with Quaker leadership in a given family - recognizing that the latter often came from the female descent. Only by such an analysis is it possible to note how fully each family was

touched by the Quaker way of life.

As before observed there were eleven typical traditional Nantucket family names and then as many Quaker others dating from 1708. Thses two groupings should be examined in turn. The first family requiring attention is that of John Swain, as he was the first Quaker on the Island. He arrived in 1661, aged 28, and died in 1715 aged 82. At the inception of the Meeting in 1704, John was recognized as a minister, a position which he occupied for eleven years. John was also head of his family, having inherited the post in 1682 at the death of Richard Swain, his father. But in 1715 leadership of the family passed to John Swain Jr., a non-Friend, who died in 1738 so that his brother, Joseph Swain, also non-Friend, carried on till 1766. Obviously Quakerism was insecurely anchored in the Swain family, as Thomas Story had observed. In fact the only male Quaker Swain in 1715 was a grandson, William, aged 10, who proved a weak reed. In 1726 when William Swain was aged 21, he was "under dealing" for scandal, by which action, a cousin, Caleb Swain (who had married into the Meeting, and was then aged 26), took on Quaker care for the Swain family. Caleb was aged 66 in 1766 when his father Joseph died, and the original family broke apart. Caleb continued till 1785 to represent the Quaker influence in what was known as the Joseph Swain tribe, in fact in 1770 to become its patronymic head as well. Interestingly when the John Swain Jr. tribe was created also in 1766, its leadership passed to the same William, who had been under dealing in 1726. He was now aged 71, and as his Quaker reputation was then in order, he became its Quaker head as well - for the four final years of his life. But it is clear that the Swain family was directed by Quakers only a half century after minister John's death.

Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner was the second Quaker - from her

female influence came the original Gardner inclination toward Quakerism. But it must be recalled that Capt. Richard, Sarah'S hushand, who came with her in 1667, was no Quaker, nor was his older brother, Capt. John Gardner, who arrived on the Island in 1672, and took over heading up the Gardner family from Richard Gardner at that point. Capt. John died in 1706; then the leading anti-Quaker figure on the Island. It was at that point that the family broke into two tribes, since Capt. Richard had died in 1688. The John Gardner tribe was anti-Quaker, headed from 1706 to 1750 by George Gardner, strange as it seems, son-in-law of the Great Mary Starbuck. The Richard Gardner tribe fell to the care of Capt. Richard Gardner Jr. from 1706 to 1728. He was no Quaker, despite his Austin wife. Then the Richard tribe broke into three separate clans. First the Richard Gardner Jr. clan went to the care of Joseph Gardner, non-Quaker. No Quaker influence appeared here till 1730, when a nephew of Joseph, one Robert Gardner, aged 25, joined Friends (through "distaff" influence). In 1733 Robert's cousin David Gardner, then aged 25, followed suit. Attention is drawn to David for he was to become a minister, and thus the most influential of the Quaker Gardners. In 1767 when the Richard Gardner Jr. clan broke up, Robert Gardner became head of his own Gardner sub-family (as well as Quaker head), and eventually David Gardner would head up similarly another Gardner sub-family. Like the Swains a half century later the senior Gardner clan would achieve a good bit of Quaker leadership. The second Gardner clan to appear in 1728 was in fact Quaker; being descended both from Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner and Mary(Coffin) Starbuck./Samuel Gardner, Elder, headed this James clan (and its Quaker interests)from 1728 when he was aged 36, to 1757 when he was 65. Here are to be found the major Quaker Gardners. The third clan, that of Nathaniel Gardner, found its origin in the only Quaker son of the original Quakeress.

He became a Friend in 1704, and thus the first male to occupy himself with Quaker interest in the Richard Gardner tribe. (His mother had to do this from 1667 to 1704.) Nathaniel was 34 in 1704, became a minister in 1708, and died in 1714 aged 44. Then it was that his son Ebeneezer Gardner, aged 25, became the Gardner to care for Quaker interests. Ebeneezer lost his Quaker wife however in 1718 (first to be married under the authority of Nantucket M.M.) and "married out" in 1719. Thus the Quaker ~~interests~~ care fell to his brother, Andrew Gardner, aged 20, in 1719, till 1728, when the Richard Gardner tribe broke apart. Andrew continued to represent the Quaker interests in the Nathaniel tribe from 1728, when aged 29 till 1763, aged 48, when he combined his Quaker function with leadership of the Nathaniel tribe, as Ebeneezer Gardner, his elder brother died in that year. Andrew carried out the double function to 1782 when he was aged 67. Obviously the third tribe of the Richard Gardners was more thoroughly Quaker than the Swains or the Richard Gardner Jr. tribe - but less than the James Gardner tribe. But this influence clearly came from Sarah Gardner.

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The third patronym is that of Stephen Hussey, who arrived a Quaker in 1674, age 44 and served as head of his family till dis disownment in 1717, aged 77. But as Thomas Story indicated, he was a force inclined toward disorder rather than peace. In 1717 Quaker influence passed to his second son, Batchelor Hussey, aged 33, who held it till his departure for Maine in 1737, aged 53. The family was run by Capt. Silvanus Hussey from the death of Stephen in 1718 till 1737, when aged 55, he combined the functions. Silvanus, like his older brother and father, was an Elder, and Clerk to the Mens Meeting, as well. He died in 1767, aged 85. Despite Stephen, this family was clearly anchored in the Meeting.

The fourth family, in point of time, was that of the Starbucks; clearly more Quaker than the other three names. In the first twenty years, 75 of the 100 or so appointments made by the Meeting, went to this family. Its head was Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. from 1690 to 1719, though of course his wife and heir became Friends in 1702. It was the Great Mary's idea to allow her son Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., to carry the Quaker responsibility which he did from 1702, aged 34, to 1753 aged 85. He was head of the family from 1719 onwards. As Town Clerk, and Monthly Meeting Clerk and promoter of whaling, he was obviously the first citizen of Nantucket. From 1704 he became a Quaker minister.

The fifth family was that of John Coleman Jr. son-in-law of the Great Mary. John's father, John Coleman Sr. headed up the family from 1690 to 1715, showing no interest in Quakerism, but no antagonism. John Jr. had become a Friend in 1704, aged 37, sat head of Meeting to time it, and died in 1762 aged 95. In 1715 the headship of his family came to him. However, all but one brother were outside the Meeting. Two of John's sons were Quaker ministers, as was his wife which tended to obscure him as was the case with his father-in-law.

The sixth family was the Coffins - from whom sprang the Great Mary. Larger than the Gardners, the Coffins managed to stay together as one family till 1734. The head of the family from 1683 to 1720 was Magistrate James Coffin, who took over from his older brother Judge Peter (who stayed on the Island long enough to bury their father). Neither had Quaker inclinations, though two of Judge Peter's sisters-in-law (Nathaniel Starbuck's sisters) were Quakers in his bailiwick of New Hampshire from 1685 or so onwards. James showed no Quaker interests, though one daughter was the wife of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. - the most prominent Friend. Quaker activity came first in 1704

to a nephew, Samuel Coffin, son of John of Edgartown, aged 24, (grandson of Quakeress Sarah (Starbuck) Austin of New Hampshire, as was his wife). Samuel cared for Quaker interests in the Coffin family to 1734, aged 54, and then in the John Coffin tribe till 1749, aged 69. He took over management of that tribe as well. He died in 1763, aged 83. When Magistrate James died in 1720, headship of the family went to his brother Stephen Coffin, who had become a Quaker in 1705, as had his son and heir Stephen Coffin Jr., who became a Quaker minister. The minister, however pre-deceased his father (1725), so that a grandson, Zephaniah Coffin, became both head of the Stephen tribe and its Quaker head in 1734, aged 35. Zephaniah continued thus to 1774, aged 75. It was thus clear that the youngest branch of the Coffins was firmly Quaker, while the Edgartown descent only became Quaker dominated more slowly. Both were influenced by the Great Mary and her sister-in-law, Sarah Austin. As for the James Coffin tribe, James Coffin Jr., non-Quaker headed it up from 1734 to 1747. A brother John Coffin, likewise non-Quaker, lasted from 1741 to 1747, when a third Puritan brother Ebeneezer Coffin took on for only three years - 1747 to 1750. The fourth Puritan brother Jonathan Coffin continued to 1771. This was the main Coffin family, and mostly outside Meeting. However, in 1734, Richard Coffin a nephew of James Coffin Jr. took on Quaker care in the James tribe. He was then aged 38, soon to be a responsible Selectman. Distaff influence brought him into the Meeting. He would still be the Quaker head in 1771, aged 75, when he headed up an autonomous Coffin clan as well. It was at this time that the most distinguished Quaker Coffin, Elder and Clerk, Benjamin Coffin, cousin of Richard, likewise emerged into his own. His mother was the main Quaker influence there. The senior Coffin tribe, that of Judge Peter,

produced no Quaker males. In 1734 care for the Peter Coffin tribe passed to a grandson, John Coffin (son of Jethro of Sunset Hill) who looked after that senior branch till 1768. They were Congregationalists. Thus the Coffins approximated the Gardners in Quaker influence, and like them got most influence from Mary Starbuck.

The seventh family was the Folgers, who originator Peter probably did more to prepare the background for the Meeting than did any other early Nantucket figure. Peter Folger's son, schoolteacher - Representative Eleazer Folger, headed the family from 1690 to 1716, when his brother Quaker John Folger, aged 57 became head. John was aged 47 in 1706 when he became a member, and head of Quaker interests in the family. John died in 1732, aged 75, and the Folger family broke into the Eleazer tribe and the John tribe. The senior tribe was in the hands of Eleazer Folger Jr. from 1752 to 1753, like his father a non-Quaker school teacher. A nephew Barzillai Folger, aged 22, cared for Quaker interests as his first cousin Daniel had married in Meeting but under a cloud. He was aged 43 when the Eleazer tribe broke into three cland; those of Eleazer Jr., Peter, and Nathan. Barzillai continued to uphold Quaker interests in the Nathan clan from 1753, aged 43, to 1778, when aged 68, he became actual head of the clan as well. Already the other two were in Quaker hands. Thus the Quaker influence was strong in the Folger families.

Next came the Bunkers, who were run by the first of their name; almost the longest of any family- that is William Bunker exercised care from 1661 to 1712, well over half a century. And then his non-Quaker son George Bunker took on from 1712 to 1743. It was only then that his Quaker brother Elder Jabez Bunker, then aged 58, became head of the family. Jabez had represented Quaker interests from 1706, when he married aged 23.

Jabez died in 1750 aged 65. The Bunkers then divided into five tribes. The first of these the George tribe passed to the care of John Bunker, non-Quaker, while a nephew Joseph Bunker, aged 23 took on Quaker interests. The Jonathan tribe fell to Zachariah Bunker, a Quaker, aged 55. The Jabez tribe went to Samuel Bunker aged 39, likewise a Quaker, and the Peleg tribe, also to a Quaker, Jonathan Bunker, aged 41. Finally the Benjamin tribe was taken on by Reuben Bunker, aged 40, raised a Quaker. Obviously this name was mostly Quaker.

The Barnard family only came among Friends in 1709, after Monthly Meeting began. Nathaniel Barnard, who headed this family from 1666 (their date of arrival) to 1718, resembles the career of the founder of the Bunker family. Both were liberal Puritans as well. In 1709 Nathaniel Barnard Jr., aged 37, became a Quaker as he married a third time, and thus took on care for Friends in his family. He would die, however, in 1718, aged 46, the same year his father died. So it was a brother John Barnard, a non-Quaker with a Quaker wife took on from 1718 till 1745. A second non-Quaker brother Stephen Barnard then carried on till 1748. Quaker care passed in 1718 to still another brother Benjamin Barnard, aged 37, who died in 1729, aged 49. Then still another Quaker brother Ebeneezer Barnard, aged 45 took this concern and in 1748 inherited leadership of the family. He was then aged 64 - and continued the dual responsibility till 1767, aged 83. Thus this family was slowly steadily drawn into the Quaker orbit.

The Macys only began to be Quakers in 1711. In 1691, John Macy Jr. became head of the family just 20 years before he became a Quaker, aged 36. He was a leading Elder and essential for the full success of the Meeting. In 1751 after 40 years of dual control John died. Jabez Macy, also an Elder, his brother

followed from 1751, aged 68, to 1760, when aged 77, he was disowned - at the same age as Stephen Hussey - and for challenging the establishment. Actually he died in 1776, aged 93. Meanwhile Richard Macy also an Elder took hold of Quaker interests in 1760, aged 71 continuing till 1779, aged 90. The last three years he was head of his house as well. Surely despite Jabez, this was a Quaker family.

The eleventh of the traditional families, the Worths only came among Friends in 1717. William Worth, the original settler headed the family from 1664 (year of arrival) to 1724; surely a record for 60 years! His grandson William Worth Jr. had married in the Meeting in 1717 and continued representing Quaker interests till 1780 when aged 86. The family was run by his non-Quaker father from 1724 to 1731. Then his eldest son Richard Worth (by now a Quaker) ran the family from 1731, aged 39 till 1742, aged 50. Quaker William then aged 56 took on both functions. Clearly this was a Quaker family for the most part.

There were 31 "clans" (in the sense in which this term is used in this chapter) among the typical eleven patronymic names on Nantucket in the first half of the 18th century; two were totally non-Quaker; one had only women as Quakers; eight were headed by non-Quakers; eleven were headed by Quakers for part of the time; and nine were headed full time by Quakers. Thus 17 of the 31 were Quaker dominated, while 14 were not.

The non-typical Nantucket family names may be divided; first into those who came from Cape Cod to enter the Meeting; then those who were attracted to Friends on the Island up to 1708; next families with a Vineyard base; then those who came on to the Island during King Philip's War, and had some pre-1750 Quaker connection - with those who did not; and finally those who came on about the turn of the century, and meet the dual qualifications of those arriving about 1675.

Two Cape Cod Quaker families came on to Nantucket in 1704 to help with whaling, but they also gave impetus for the Meeting for Worship established that year. The first was the Gorham family, established by Shubael Gorham, son-in-law of Stephen Hussey. He was then aged 29, and he lasted on the Island till Stephen's death in 1718, and then left aged 43. His brother, Stephen Gorham then continued the joint family and Quaker responsibility from 1718, aged 33 to 1770, aged 85. This family produced no male heirs on the Island.

The second was the Paddack family, whose pepresentative Ichabod had been on the Island in 1690. His brother Nathaniel Paddack came on in 1704, aged 19, and in 1706 married into the Bunker family. He headed affairs from 1704 to 1729, aged 44, when he was dealt with for drunkenness. Thus a nephew, Eliphalet Paddack, aged 29, who had come over from the Cape, took on Quaker care till 1773, when he died aged 73. Nathaniel had died in 1756, so two Paddack tribes appeared - with Quakers head of each.

Another Yarmouth Quaker family with Nantucket connections was that of the Howes. The initial member of the family was Thomas a "renegade" Quaker, who married a daughter of Stephen Hussey out-of-Meeting and perished on his way to settle on the Island, leaving a posthumous son, in 1700. This son, from his birth, was head of his house. In 1723, Thomas Howes Jr. married a daughter of Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., out-of-Meeting and out of necessity. Upon apology he became a Quaker, aged 23, carrying out the dual function till 1739, when aged 39, he was lost at sea. His son Zaccheus Howes, then aged 13, carried on till his death in 1759, aged 36. This was a Quaker family, but on the periphery. It happened a sister-in-law of Thomas Sr.; Mary (Daggett) Howes came over to be with the original household, probably about 1707. Though a Vineyard woman originally she had become a Quaker and

till 1712 when Thomas Sr.'s widow remarried, she represented the Quaker interest in that name (but as a woman, of course).

Two similar other female situations appeared in the early Meeting. One was the case of Anna Trott, who became a Friend about 1705, and sat head of Womens Meeting from 1708 to 1713, when one of her daughters was disowned for hasty remarriage. She continued as a member of Meeting till 1734 when the name disappears. She was an Elder. John Trott, who was head of the house apparently moved on to the Island about 1680, dying in 1719. His bachelor unsteady son, John Jr., continued to head this slightly Quaker family till 1751, when his non-Quaker married brother, Benjamin, took on.

The other similar situation was for John Trott's sister, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, who was a second wife, and joined Meeting also in 1705. She lived till 1729, but had no children. One of her stepdaughters came among Friends. And a step-great-grandson became a Quaker in 1753, thus reintroducing the Cartwright name after thirty years. Edward Cartwright Sr. headed up the family from 1675, when they fled King Philip's War, to 1705. For one year his son Nicholas Cartwright looked after the family. Then care passed to a brother Sampson Cartwright who managed from 1706 to 1741. The family then broke into two tribes; those of Sampson and Edward Jr., with Hazadiah Cartwright, and his cousin Samuel Cartwright respectively in charge. Both were non-Quakers. But Hazadiah's son (who was also Tabotha (Trott) Frost's grandson) became the Quaker in 1753 (above referred to). Sampson Cartwright had one daughter who became a Quaker, but the tale is similar to the Trotts. Incidentally Sampson Cartwright married a Pratt from Boston - but a family dating from 1675 on Nantucket, when Indian massacres brought on her father Joseph. He married a daughter of Peter Folger, in fact the one Nantucket Folger who knew her nephew Benjamin Franklin well. The Pratts left Nantucket

about 1690, or so. Sampson's brother Nicholas married into a Vineyard Rogers similarly; his wife's mother being a Nantucket Barnard. The Rogers had lived on Nantucket in the 1670s.

Attention should be drawn again at this point to Tabotha (Trott) Frost, Anna's unfortunate daughter, who had also joined in 1705, and who was the one member of that name in Meeting. Her husband, a schoolteacher turned pirate, left her, and in 1713 she remarried a Dr. Brown in Newport, possibly by Quaker ceremony. Nantucket was concerned that this was bigamy and so she was disowned - the first such on Nantucket. John Frost, her first husband, headed the family from 1703 to 1712, then his son Benjamin Frost till his death in 1793. Needless to say he was no Quaker, though probably brought up by his grandmother, Anna Trott.

One family with early Quaker connections were the Browns. Originally refugees from King Philip. John Brown Sr./ brought his son and grandson by the same name. John Sr. handled the family to 1685, when his grandson John Brown Third took on for a decade. Then his son, George Brown, (grandson of John Gardner, the anti-Quaker fire-eater), though a mere infant, carried on. He married a daughter of Sampson Cartwright, and then secondly, Abigail Trott, another Quaker daughter of Anna in 1720, by Quaker ceremony when aged 27. George continued to head up family and Quaker interests till 1775, aged 87. But the family was only peripherally in the Meeting. Somewhat parallel to the Browns were the Arthurs. John Arthur, came on to the Island in 1676, to marry another daughter of Capt. John Gardner. He died in 1700, leaving the family to John Arthur Jr., who in turn died in 1719. A grandson, Thomas Arthur, then carried on till 1800, while one of his sisters joined Friends by marrying into Dartmouth Meeting.

The original Vineyard family, that of Pease, witnessed its first representative on Nantucket in 1670, when Matthew Pease came over with his Vineyard wife, possibly attracted by Peter Folger. In 1692 his younger brother, Stephen, married the widow of John Macy Sr. (daughter of Sarah Starbuck). After her early death in the 1690s, both families withdrew to the Vineyard. But in 1712 Stephen's son, Nathan Pease, brought his Chase wife to Nantucket. One of their daughters married into Nantucket Meeting in 1717, and then a few years afterwards Nathan took his family back. Isaac Chase settled originally on Nantucket - as a 1675 refugee raising a numerous family. But he left for the Vineyard before the Meeting began. One son, Isaac Chase Jr., however, brought his Vineyard bride back to Nantucket in 1702, heading up that family till his death in 1739. Four of the siblings of Isaac Jr. returned to take Nantucket husbands or wives with them to the Vineyard. Then in 1737 one of Isaac Jr.'s sons, Joseph Chase, married into Nantucket Meeting, aged 20. He left for the Vineyard in another 20 years - and died there (date unknown) presumably still head of Quaker interests in the family.

A daughter of Stephen Coffin Jr. (whose wife was a Vineyard woman of Nantucket ancestry) married a Jacob Norton from the nearby Island in 1695. But they emigrated westward by 1710. Later when one of the Nortons was the Edgartown Town Clerk he showed an unusual appreciation for Quakerism. No doubt the intermarriage between the islands helped. And his Edgartown Coffin cousins were, at least some of them, Quakers. In 1700 another daughter of Stephen Coffin Jr. married Armstrong Smith of Philadelphia, where she went to live for some years. Probably about 1715, when he died, the family returned to Nantucket, where their care passed to Armstrong's son, Eliphalet Smith. He died in 1727, so his brother, Daniel Smith, carried on till 1765. One

of his sisters became a Friend by marrying into Dartmouth Meeting.

The Nantucket Skiffe family which was formed in 1675 by the Vineyarder James Skiffe marrying a Barnard, continued till his death in 1695. His widow then withdrew to the Vineyard, leaving one son, Nathan Skiffe, who was brutally murdered by pirates in 1723. A sister Sarah (Skiffe) Long, whose husband had gone off as a pirate about 1712 (with John Frost) came into Meeting. However, Robert Long, who had married Sarah about 1695, reformed, and lived head of his house till 1736, when his son, Samuel Long, took on care of the family to 1780. One of Samuel's sisters became a Friend by marrying into Pembroke Meetin, near Plymouth.

Then there was Matthew Jenkins, who married a granddaughter of Sarah Gardner in 1706, aged 15, and became directly Quaker head of his family - which he directed till 1758, aged 67. His son Peter Jenkins (returned to Edgartown), then took on dual responsibility for the family, though Joseph Jenkins, his next brother, a minister, was the most prominent in the family. Still another family with seemingly Vineyard connections was that of Ebenzeezer Harker, who came on in 1670 to marry a daughter of Peter Folger, and care for the family to 1700. Then his son, Ebeneezer Harker Jr. carried on till at least 1751 when, as an old bachelor, suddenly he married and emigrated. Unlike the Jenkins the Harkers had no Quaker interest.

More Quaker than the Harkers were the Odars, who appeared in 1702, when Anthony Odar married Sarah (Folger) Odar, soon to join Meeting (daughter of Eleazer). Anthony ran the family till 1715, when he died, and the male element disappeared. One daughter however, followed her mother into the Meeting in 1728, when she married Caleb Stratton, aged 20; whose father William Stratton, had appeared on Nantucket in 1707, to marry a daughter of the

founder of the Cartwright house. William died in 1740, so that Caleb Stratton became head of house as well as Quaker, aged 38, till he died in 1786, aged 84.

One 1675 refugee family was the Pinkhams of Dover, N.H., whose representative, Richard Pinkham, married a daughter of Magistrate James Coffin about 1680. Richard continued to head up this family to 1718, when his son, Jonathan Pinkham, assumed leadership. He died in 1735, and his brother, Shubael Pinkham, became head. Shubael had become a Quaker in 1712, aged 21, and was 44 in 1735. He would continue the dual function till 1767, aged 76. Like the Jenkins this was a Quaker-oriented family. Another Dover family was that of Edward Allen, who married a Coleman in 1695. Edward ran the family till 1741, meanwhile in 1725, his son Nathaniel Allen, aged 27, became a Quaker. In 1741 when Nathaniel assumed both functions he was aged 43; in which role he continued till 1776, aged 78.

The Church family which arrived from Plymouth in 1675 is interesting. Only as one daughter, Mary (Church) Clark, came into Meeting in 1718, with her husband (second marriage) Thomas Clark, aged 40. Thomas Clark had come on to the Island about 1700 and headed his family till 1740, aged 82. A son by a previous marriage, John Clark, carried on till 1759, when his half-brother, David Clark, took control. The Quaker interest was carried by a third son, Peter Clark, aged 28 in 1740, and 38 in 1750, when lost at sea. His 13 year old son, Stephen Clark, then took charge, but actually pre-deceased his non-Quaker uncle, David. The Clarks were very divided religiously speaking.

Another name to appear in 1695 was the Ellis family, headed by John Ellis, till 1720, when his son John Ellis Jr., took on till 1756. There were four brothers, so that this Puritan family prolifersted. In 1700 the Marshall family appeared. He was a prosperous Boston merchant, looking for business

opportunity, and headed up the family till 1748. After his wife's death, Joseph Marshall married the flamboyant, Abigail (Hussey) Howes - and by 1718 they had come among Friends. He was then aged 46. Soon he became a minister and later, Monthly Meeting Clerk. In 1748, his son Benjamin Marshall, by his first wife took on both Quaker and family care, aged 42. He died in 1793, aged 87. But notice should be taken of Benjamin'S half-brother, Joseph Marshall Jr., who though not head of family was both Elder and Monthly Meeting Clerk as well.

Finally there was the Fitch family, formed in 1701, when Jedidiah Fitch came on to marry the first of Mary Starbuck's grandchildren to set up her own home. Upon inheriting their share of the Gayer fortune, they moved to Boston, about 1712. There Abigail (Coffin) Fitch became a member of Salem M.M. Their son Peter Fitch returned to marry a Chase, and settle on Nantucket, where from 1730 to 1793 he headed the house. In 1762 a cousin of Peter Jr., Jonathan Gorham Fitch, joined Meeting to become its Quaker representative.

Incidentally no account is taken of the Gayer family as Sir William Gayer died in 1710, and the family name disappeared. Nor is account taken of Moses Swett and Mary (Hussey) Swett, as they left even earlier - and then became Quakers. (She was a cousin of Stephen.) Both these families left distaff descendants on Nantucket, as did the Looks of the Vineyard. And of course so did Sarah (Starbuck) Story Austin - Varney - and she lived in Nantucket from 1708 to 1711.

OMIT UNDERLINING

The non-typical patronymic list ran to 26 names, more than double the typical 11. But they composed only 29 "clans" (in the sense of this chapter) as compared to 31 of the main names. Thus a total of 60 family "clans" are encountered - 11 of the second 29 had women only as Quakers; one had men as well, 9 had Quaker heads for part of the time, and three for all the time.

Five were totally non-Quaker groupings. Thus ten of the 29 clans were Quaker-dominated and 19 not;- or to examine all 60 clans in this way we find 27 were Quaker and 33 were not. Perhaps nine of the latter category were Congregationalists - making for three Quakers for every churchman on the Island - and more Quakers than those affiliated with no church.

In comparing this chapter with chapter two , constructed upon the settlement a decade earlier, it is clear that a number of new patronymics had appeared on the Island. Others naturally followed, so that toward the end of this volume attention will be drawn to them.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 7.

TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILY - I

THE NATHANIEL STARBUCKS

1708

From time to time it would seem only sensible to single out a particular Nantucket family to point out its involvement in the Meeting affairs and in those of the town - particularly in the latter instance to note non-Quaker commitment (if any). The Society of Friends has been described as a society of families. In no other way can certain relationships, strengths and weaknesses easily be discovered. One family comes obviously to mind in 1708 as the Monthly Meeting got under way. This was the Starbuck family in the moment at which the second generation was handing on its torch to the third.

The first generation was composed of a widower, Edward Starbuck (1604-1690), a lay preacher, who had died nearly twenty years before, bequeathing his spiritual outlook to two daughters, Sarah (Starbuck) Story - Austin - Varney (1632-1720), Esther (Starbuck) Varney (1648-1700), and the well known Nantucket figure, Mary (Coffin) Starbuck (1645-1717), his daughter-in-law. Sarah lived most of her life in New Hampshire as did Esther. Both became Quakers, members of Dover Meeting probably in the 1680s. In fact Sarah Austin (as she was for many years) served a gifted Quaker minister (as did her daughter, Rose (Austin) Tibbetts, who frequented Nantucket well into the 18th century). There were two other daughters: Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer (1639-

1696), the Nantucket wife of Sir William Gayer, who was the (third) Chief Magistrate when Quakerism reached the Island; and Abigail (Starbuck) Coffin, (1645-1710), wife of Judge Peter Coffin, Chief Justice of New Hampshire, but resident on Nantucket from 1675 to 1690. Edward had but one son, Nathaniel Starbuck, (1636-1719), who was the first white man to marry on the Island. Thus the Nathaniel Starbucks were the first family on Nantucket in a literal sense.

Nathaniel and Mary kept an emporium which was both an Indian Trading Post and an economic complex from which shore whaling was developed from 1690 onwards. The original money economy was derived from wool, in which the Starbucks and Coffins had outstanding shares. Mary Starbuck's father, Tristram Coffin, was the original chief magistrate. As a widower, he lived with Nathaniel and Mary. Thus their home was the Parliament House, or seat of government. During the political troubles of the 1670s the Starbuck homestead was torn between the conservative Coffin and the idealistic Starbuck tendencies. The modus vivendi which evolved gave power to the democratic Gardner faction, which however was strongly anti-Quaker. Thus the Island Starbucks had little or no contact with the Society of Friends as such, despite the convincement of the Starbuck sisters in New Hampshire. However in 1696 John Gardner retired as the (second) Chief Magistrate (Town Clerk), and at that time one of Nathaniel and Mary's children, Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway 1680-1740, married a Quaker in Dartmouth (Mass.) and started two years later to bring Quaker preachers to the churchless Island. In 1702 Mary Starbuck, two of her sons, and one other daughter were also convinced of Quaker principles. These children were: Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., 1668-1753, Jethro Starbuck, 1671-1770 and Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, 1676-1762. Mary Starbuck's decision to throw in her lot with the Society of

Friends was the decisive step in directing 18th century Nantucket on to its unique course of development. She took the decision as she was convinced that the Quaker way of life and church government offered the best matrix in which the Island's problems, particularly those regarding property, could be resolved.

More than this Mary Starbuck herself became a gifted Quaker preacher, as did her eldest son, Nathaniel and both daughters, Priscilla Coleman, and Hephzibah Hathaway. In 1704 the Nantucket Meeting for Worship was established in the Parliament House (new house built 1699), and in 1708 the first General Meeting was held there (and continued there for the next two years, till the first Quaker Meeting House was built). The Mens Monthly Meeting gathered from 1708 to 1711 in Nathaniel Jr.'s home (the old Parliament House), while the women held theirs in the home of his mother. (In fact the men continued to meet till 1716 at the son's residence, that is until the Meetinghouse was enlarged, a partition built, and separate chambers arranged for both men and women.) Rather naturally Nathaniel Jr. was chosen to act as the men's Clerk; a post which he retained for a quarter century. The women selected Jethro's wife, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, 1675-1747, (also his cousin) to act as their clerk; a position which she occupied for a record of thirty-five years. As Dorcas was a Starbuck in her own right, the preeminence of the first family was thereby underscored. The three Starbuck households; those of Nathaniel Sr., Nathaniel Jr. and Jethro were the normal places at which visiting Friends stayed. (Barnabas Starbuck, 1675-1732, joined 1703; was a bachelor living with his parents - acting as treasurer for the Meeting - in fact financed the building of the first Meeting House.) Priscilla's husband John Coleman Jr., 1667-1762, sat head of the Meeting for Worship, that is "timed" it. Both

Colemans were petitioners for the Monthly Meeting in 1708 as were the three Starbuck brothers, and Jethro's wife Dorcas. In fact only two of the eight petitioners were not of the first family. It would seem that John Coleman and Dorcas Starbuck joined Friends in 1703, while the wife of the men's clerk, Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, 1674-1750, only became a member in 1706. The Great Mary's husband Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. joined in 1708. Thus at the inception of the Monthly Meeting all nine of the first family were Quakers.

Actually the family had somewhat wider ramifications on the Island; some not Quaker at all. There was for instance Mary Coffin's sole anti-Quaker daughter, Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner, 1674-1766, who had married George Gardner, son of the anti-Quaker magistrate, Capt. John Gardner (who was known to abuse Quaker visitors at least verbally till his death in 1706). Eunice eventually joined in the work of a missionary Congregational Church. And there were the descendants of the two eldest of Mary Starbuck's daughters who it happened were not around to join Friends. The eldest, Mary (Starbuck) Gardner, 1663-1699, (first white child born on Nantucket) had married James Gardner (cousin of George) whose mother actually was a Quaker. But James had remarried in 1699 choosing an anti-Quaker sister of George. And he would marry twice again, but to women antipathetic to Quakerism. In short he was "innoculated" against his mother's religion. Notwithstanding all six of his children (by his first wife) became active Quakers - two of them had already affiliated with the Monthly Meeting when it was founded. The second daughter of Mary Starbuck was Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin, 1665-1706, wife of Peter Coffin Jr. her double first cousin from New Hampshire - he being namesake of the Chief Justice of New Hampshire. She remarried in 1701 choosing Nathaniel Barnard Jr. and then died in 1706. The older children

who were as yet unmarried emigrated, while her two youngest daughters were placed under the care of Jethro Starbuck, and his cousin Stephen Coffin Jr., respectively. As both guardians of her orphaned daughters were Friends, both girls were raised ~~as~~ in the Meeting. One last family ramification had to do with the sister of the Women's Clerk, Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, 1673-1764, wife of a non-Quaker brother of Dinah Coffin. Damaris was founding member in 1708, soon to share with Dorcas the princely fortune which would be left them by a childless knightly brother - money which formed the cornerstone of investment in the budding off-shore whale fishery (started 1712).

A word should be said about the persistent Starbuck-Coffin connections. Mary Starbuck had five Coffin brothers: Judge Peter; Tristram Jr. (the complete off-Islander); Magistrate James; Major John of Edgartown (Martha's Vineyard); and Quaker Stephen Coffin, 1652-1734. There is some indication that brother John Coffin, 1677-1711, the Vineyarder, affiliated with Friends the last three retired years of his life. In any case he married a Quaker daughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Austin, and left some Quaker children. Stephen was unquestionably a founding member in 1708, but his wife was an ardent Puritan, so their children were divided in sentiment, though Stephen Jr. as above indicated, was a strong member, as was his sister Judith (destined to sit head of the Womens Meeting after 1714). Magistrate James, who left the most proliferate progeny, was like Judge Peter, not drawn to Friends, though two of his daughters were - (one being Dinah, wife to the Mens Clerk). And Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck became very active particularly in composing quarterly reports on behalf of the Womens Meeting to be sent to the Womens Quarterly Meeting in Newport. Apparently women sent no representatives - the men's delegates were certainly sporadic enough in the early years. All three of the Starbuck brothers

NO UNDERLINING

attended , though Nathaniel tended to concentrate on Yearly Meeting. All shared in writing Quarterly reports including one "red letter" year, 1709-1710, when both Nathaniel Sr. and the Great Mary joined in. On the whole the older generation were stepping back. She died in 1717; he followed two years later. Barnabas emigrated to Newport in 1722, where he would die a decade farther on. Both Nathaniel Jr. and Jethro were most active in civic affairs, the former serving as Town Clerk and clerk of the proprietary of common lands for many years. Both invested heavily in ~~XXXXXXXX~~ off-shore whaling - Nathaniel taking the lead and becoming by far the wealthiest man of the Island.

Nathaniel and Dinah raised ten children, while Jethro and Dorcas had seven. All seventeen were members of Meeting, helping form a solid corps of fourth generation Starbucks (and second generation Quakers). It might be useful to follow out their earlier careers including their husband's and wives'.

Nathaniel's eldest, Mary (Starbuck) Folger, 1692-1763, was married in the new Parliament House in 1710 to Jethro Folger, 1689-1772, a first cousin of Benjamin Franklin, about the time her father arranged for Sherburne town to grant an acre of land for building a Quaker Meeting House, and setting aside a burial ground. The Folgers both became Elders in the Meeting, raising nine children. Nathaniel's heir was Paul Starbuck, 1694-1759, also an Elder, associated with his father in many enterprises. Certainly he sailed the North Atlantic many times in his younger years. In 1718 he married his second cousin, Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck, 1702-1736, daughter of Rose Tibbetts of Dover N.H., when plainness was first becoming an issue. They had nine children - before the ninth birth killed her. Paul then remarried his cousin Kezia (Folger) Gardner, 1679-1749, daughter

of the head of the Women's Meeting. This drew him into much more substantial Quaker service. He would outlive her to marry in Meeting a third time (before his parents died).

The story of Nathaniel's third child, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, 1696-1738, was a tragic one. She was married to her cousin Shubael Coffin, 1696-1738, in 1717, just after Stephen Hussey's disownment. The groom was son of Stephen Coffin Jr. the Clerk's closest associate at that time in civic and Meeting affairs. They had no children. Shubael became an alcoholic; was disciplined in 1729, disowned in 1731; Priscilla followed him in death scarcely middle aged. No matter how unfortunate was Priscilla's story, the fourth offspring, Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, 1698-1770, represented the victory of the family in marrying, George Hussey, 1694-1782, Harvard trained lawyer son of the disowned Stephen. Stephen had tried to challenge the Proprietary, it should be recalled. They were married in 1717 before her grandmother, the Great Mary died. And to them were born no less than 13 children! But they played a passive role in the Meeting. Notwithstanding in 1738 George Hussey frustrated the attempt of Eunice Gardner to break up the shares in the Proprietary. The fifth child proved to be of entirely different metal. Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, 1700-1764, was a minister like her father and grandmother. She elected to marry Stephen Hussey's eldest son, Capt. Silvanus Hussey, 1682-1767, already a widower, and till 1723, when they wed, not a member of Meeting. He was the originator of ocean-going whaling and unofficial commodore of the whaling fleet - subsequently an Elder, Quarterly Meeting Friend and Clerk. They married about the time the straight wharf was opened. Nine Quaker offspring were their portion.

The sixth of the Clerk's children was Abigail (Starbuck) Howes-Way, 1704-1777, the one somewhat unpredictable off-spring.

In 1723 she married Thomas Howes Jr., 1701-1739, son and heir of the late scion of a wealthy Cape family, and of Abigail (Hussey) Howes - Marshall, the most colorful inhabitant of Nantucket (daughter of Stephen). What is more they were married out of Meeting because a baby was on the way. In 1724 Abigail wrote a letter of apology by which she and her captain husband were restored to (or admitted) to membership. Afterwards he was lost at sea in 1739 and then Abigail married John Way, 1722-1760. She then had two children by her first husband. Abigail was unusual in that she practised family planning in an age when no one feared population explosion. No doubt Abigail Way was among the more "worldly" members. Yet in 1753 she joined the reforming party in the Monthly Meeting.

After the four daughters, two sons were born. First there was Benjamin Starbuck, 1707-1731, probably mate on his uncle Thomas Hathaway's sloop, which was lost with all hands in 1731. Benjamin had already married the year before, selecting Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, later Folger, 1713-1793 as if in a vain attempt to make up for the catastrophy which overtook ~~Shubael~~ Shubael and Priscilla. He left two children. The second son was Tristram Starbuck, 1709-1789 (born obviously after the 1708 date). He too married a Coffin, Deborah (Coffin) Starbuck, 1708-1789, daughter of Samuel, a weighty citizen and granddaughter of Major John of Edgartown, thus a Starbuck in her own right. He was trained up in his father's trade - that of a blacksmith, which meant fashioning harpoons, oarlocks, etc., in an era of whaling. They were married in 1729 (as the Crown removed disabilities in Massachusetts against Quakers) and brought up a moderate sized family of five children.

Two daughters finished off the family, Ruth (Starbuck) Russell, 1714-1772, wed John Russell, 1712-1789, in 1731, son of a Newport citizen who had come on to Nantucket, about the

time Nathaniel Starbuck resigned his clerkship in the Proprietary. The Russels had 11 children. Finally there was Anna (Starbuck) Barnard 1716-1785, wife of Peter Barnard, 1713-1775, half-brother of Paul's second wife, that is son of the head of the Women's Meeting. They were married in 1734 (a quarter century after her eldest sister wed), about the time Joseph Rotch came into Meeting. They had nine children who grew up. Thus Nathaniel and Dinah had 58 grandchildren. Theirs was a remarkable household. They had been married the year his grandfather Edward Starbuck, the progenitor died. In 1750 they celebrated their diamond anniversary. As long as Nathaniel lived no serious challenge was given to the status of privelege which membership in such a family implied. Thirty-six years after Nathaniel died, George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States of America, and then the last of Nathaniel and Dinah's brood passed away.

Jethro Starbuck lived much longer than his brother - in fact into his 100th year, but Dorcas died in 1747, so that their household was intact 53, not 63 years as in Nathaniel's case. Still the record is impressive - equalling that of Nathaniel Sr. and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck.

The eldest of Jethro and Dorcas' children was Sarah (Starbuck Macy, 1692-1789, who wed Jabez Macy, 1683-1776, in 1712 two years after her cousin Mary Starbuck married, in the newly built first Meetinghouse. They had nine children. Until the 1750s Jabez and Sarah were most active Friends. Then his latent liberal inheritance clashed with the establishment in the famous Proprietary case which was appealed to the Meeting for Sufferings (Representative Meeting) in London - and he was disowned. Jabez and Sarah's union was a symbol by which the powerful Macy family was won over from the democratic Congregational Gardners. Jabez's disownment raised a whole series of knotty questions regarding just how solid Quaker control was in reality.

The second child, William Starbuck, 1699-1760, was like his uncle and grandmother, a gifted minister, occupying a more central position in the second Quaker generation than Paul, or any of the Clerk's offspring. And William's wife, Anna (Folger) Starbuck, 1703-1748, was accounted to be the "Queen of the Quakers" at least by non-Friends in mid-century, partly because of her social position and bearing. Her mother sat head of the Women's Meeting, and after the death of Stephen Coffin Sr. she operated the Proprietary trust, ensuring a monopoly of the sheep industry to the establishment. Their marriage occurred in 1720, two years after Paul and Anne exchanged vows; at the time their cousin, the more famed Elihu Coleman, wed. After Anna's death, William remarried Lydia (Coleman) Macy, 1717-1813, of a hitherto non-Quaker branch of that family. William and Anna had five children.

The third of Jethro' family was Eunice (Starbuck) Pinkham, 1701-1758, who married Daniel Pinkham, 1697-1770, son of the founder of that name. They never had any children, but unlike Shubael and Priscilla Coffin, kept on an even keel. They were married in 1724, about the time the pirate menace was removed, seven years after Shubael and Priscilla.

The fourth Lydia (Starbuck) Barney, 1704-1751, was a most active elder, as was her husband, Benjamin Barney, 1697-1783, a tailor, who came on to the Island from Newport, (and was thus more parallel to Ruth than to Elizabeth, both her cousins). They were married in 1722 at about the time of John Fothergill's second visit to the Island. Six children were born before Lydia died. As in the case of Daniel Pinkham, Benjamin Barney would marry again.

The fifth child was Thomas Starbuck, 1706-1777, founder of the line leading to the "three brick" mansions in Nantucket, who chose Rachael (Allen) Starbuck, 1709-1789, in 1726 when they married; soon after the Congregational vestry was built. They had seven children. Thomas can be best compared with his

cousin, Tristram Starbuck, who was married three years later. Nathaniel had three sons, Jethro two - their father had three. Thomas, of course, was born after the 1708 period.

Two more girls remain to be checked. Jemima (Starbuck) Allen, 1712- ? , was married to Silvanus Allen, 1706-1785, (brother to Thomas' wife) in 1728, soon after the great earthquake. They were caught short on pre-marital sex relations, much like Abigail and Thomas Howes, but on apology were forgiven. They had eight children. Finally there was Mary (Starbuck) Mitchell, 1715-1780, wife of Richard Mitchell, 1715-1787, also an immigrant from Newport. They were married in 1731 about the time Nathaniel Starbuck took on the Meeting treasury and they were blessed with eleven children. He became a Minister in the Meeting.

Thus Jethro and Dorcas had 47 grandchildren, which when linked to those of Nathaniel and Dinah produced a total of 105, constituting a good tenth of the Quaker population on the Island. If to this is added the two previous generations, the total rises to 125 (not counting "in-laws" except for the Great Mary, Dinah and Dorcas). This was the Nathaniel Starbuck family which catches the eye in 1708. Only three of Jethro's children outlived him - eight of Nathaniels had survived him. Apparently Jemima Allen emigrated after Silvanus's death, and may have survived the 1789 period, but on Nantucket, that year concluded the Starbuck family, for 19 years after her father, Sarah Macy died, aged 92, last of the family on the Island, the same year her cousin, Tristram Starbuck died. Which were the more important: the Nathaniel Starbucks with double Coffin inheritance; or the Jethro Starbucks with double Starbuck inheritance? It is difficult to choose. One thing is certain. They were the first family of Nantucket Quakerism, as well as the first family of the Island.

In checking the committees of oversight for Starbuck marriages in the Meeting, 18 men were called upon and 13 women. John Macy acted four times, while both Priscilla Coleman and Judith (Coffin) Folger - Barnard - Wilcox (head of the Women's Meeting) each performed five times. Nathaniel Jr., Jethro, Barnabas and William Starbuck all were called upon as well as Dorcas Starbuck, Damaris Coffin and Mary Folger - Starbucks in their own right. Three of the third generation chose off-Island Quaker mates - thirteen were satisfied with Island fare.

# NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 8.

## THE FIRST THREE YEARS, 1709 - 1711

Nantucket Monthly Meeting was first convened on Monday (Second Day, in Quaker parlance), the 28th of June (Fourth Month, according to the British pre-1752 calendar), in 1708; after four days of "publick" Meetings for Worship, held under the authority of New England Yearly Meeting; which had favorably responded to the request of eight Nantucket Friends to hold both an annual general Meeting, and a monthly Meeting for business (discipline in Quaker language). Curiously no Nantucket Friend went to Newport to present the request. Instead Ebeneezer Slocumb of Jamestown (Conanicut Meeting), Rhode Island, and Patrick Henderson, the visiting Irish Friend from County Derry (originally Londonderry) were asked to speak for the Island. Perhaps neutral outsiders could reflect more frankly about the suitability of the proposition than those more subjectively involved. Henderson was described by Thomas Story as a "good like black man" in 1716, which might indicate part negroid ancestry. In any case he was apparently "wise and learned" of extraordinary parts, "capable of a great deal of sweetness, rightly dividing the word of Truth". He was a zealous mystic who held that "conversation with God was necessary for conversion".

Ebebeezer knew Nantucket well, having visited it nine years before, when there were not a half dozen Quakers on the Island.

He then arranged for the usual First Day (Sunday) and Fifth Day (Thursday) lay-led religious service to be held in silence, and had spoken. Ebebeezer was a powerful speaker. It is said he was convinced of Quaker principles in 1672 when George Fox visited Newport. If so he had something in common with Stephen Hussey whom he may well have brought back into a kind of Quaker orbit. Though Ebeneezer was 55 years of age in 1708, he was unusually "strong and numble" of body, "a great Bishop of Souls and Shepherd of the Sheep". Nine years before he had helped put up the frame of the famous Parliament House while on a Quaker visit to Nantucket. Ebeneezer's father was the late Giles Slocumb, who visited the Vineyard in an earlier day - a contemporary of Samuel Shattuck. On his first visit Ebeneezer's brother-in-law, a prominent Portsmouth R.I. merchant called Jacob Mott had come along. Also his son, Jacob Mott Jr., followed suit. As has been noticed, Jacob Jr. first spoke in a religious Meeting in 1701 on Nantucket, which made him especially fond of the "far away" Island. The Motts returned again and again, each time carefully reporting to Ebeneezer Slocumb and other Rhode Island Friends how "Truth prospered" on Nantucket. Even before Ebeneezer's visit in 1699, his sister, Joanna (Slocumb) Mott, had gone to the Island; and spoken. Never had a woman preached on Nantucket before. And she had come over with a man who was not her husband! - in fact none other than ex-Governor John Easton. Once having recovered from their double or even triple amazement, the Islanders came to learn something of Quaker equality between the sexes: and between governors and governed. Later a daughter of Governor Easton married the son of "Mistress" Mott. Gov. Easton visited a second time in 1700 but apparently Joanna did not appear again till 1707, and this time very respectably with her good husband. Then they brought a package of

Quaker books valued at 20 shillings. Gov. Easton was to be found on the Island again in 1709. Jacob Mott was on hand in 1701 (with his son), and in 1702 when Mary Starbuck embraced his religion. In addition to Jacob's four visits, there were five others made by Peleg Slocumb, Ebeneezer's sea-faring brother, who lived in Dartmouth (near New Bedofrd), where he was the largest tax-payer, and was remembered as the donor in 1699, of the land upon which the Apponganset Meetinghouse was first built. Peleg also raised sheep, many of them in the comparable security of the Elizabeth Islands. Up till 1702, Capt. Thomas Hathaway also a Quaker of Dartmouth, had brought the visitors, largely because his wife, Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway, whom he married in 1696, felt concerned for her Island relatives and especially for her mother, Mary (Coffin) Satrbuck. The Hathaways were the founders of the Acushnet Meeting which was set up in 1704. Peleg Slocumb was on hand when the Great Mary responded to her daughter's concern. He was there in 1703, in 1704 (with his wife), in 1705, and in 1708. Whether or not Peleg saw his brother Ebeneezer frequently is not known. They did meet at least once a year at Yearly Meeting in Newport. And they were together at the founding of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. So was a third brother Eleazer Slocumb; to whose name clings a reputed romance with Lady Eliphel Fitz-Gerald years before the Slocumbs emigrated to America. And their brother-in-law, Jacob Mott was present making his fifth visit. Their sister Joanna, sat with women Friends that Second Day morning in the Parliament House, holding still another Meeting for Worship. Only a month later (July), 5th Month, did they set in their own business session. A sixth visitor was a certain Daniel Wood of Dartmouth, who was paid the equivalent of 15.00 dollars for transporting the committee over in his sloop.

This agregate of 21 visits spread over a decade, reflecting the interest of the Slocumb-Mott family was the single most impressive link which mainland Quakerism established with Nantucket. It is not surprising that the new Monthly Meeting was attached to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting rather than to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting (for the Cape and Plymouth regions). Nantucket revived her old out-of-state traditions (originally it had been New York). Indeed the greatest Nantucket Quakeress of all time was forshadowed. For a century later, Lucretia (Coffin) Mott, emerged in New York as the great advocate of equal rights for the American Negro, and the American woman.

Patrick Henderson never saw Nantucket again. His appointment was in a sense to assure a kind of Quaker "apostolic succession". Trained by a Scots theological father, Patrick must have been a much lesser Irish "Robert Barclay". In that year of 1708 he had published a Quaker pamphlet considered worthy of reply, and had home from a jail sentence on Long Island. Later Henderson shared a prison cell in Dublin with no less a Quaker worthy than Thomas Story, Penn's Deputy, who in fact helped get Mary Starbuck to start the Nantucket Meeting for Worship in 1704. Patrick must have thought back occasionally to Nantucket in later years, but if Henderson left any account of his travels, they have not come to light. It is indeed curious that both the founder of the Nantucket Meeting for Worship and the founder of ths Business Meeting should end up in the same prison cell! Patrick lived till aged 85 in 1772 a respected minister of Dublin Monthly Meeting.

Two other Rhode Island Friends sat in Nathaniel Starbuck's home that opening day. One was Thomas Cornell, who had been on the Island in 1702, the year Mary (Coffin) Starbuck was "convinced"; the other William Barker, kin of Gov. Easton, was a member with Jacob Mott, Peleg and Eleazer Slocumb on the

committee apointed to set up the Business Meeting. One other visitor sat with the women. She was Rose (Austin) Tibbetts, like her mother a minister of Dover N.H. Meeting - and mother of two girls who would later marry on to the Island. In addition to the fifty adult members, probably another fifty non-Friends attended, partly out of curiosity - and partly to listen to a record crowd of nine visiting Ministers. Probably an equal number of children came as well, so that during the three days (six Meetings?) the crowd spilled out well into the grounds of the Parliament House.

Confidence in the future was marked by the decision to look for land for building and burying, after deciding to buy a Minute Book and appointing Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. to keep the Minutes. A month later four shillings, eleven pence, were collected to help pay for the Minute Book and Barnabas Starbuck was named Meeting Treasurer. The women also met that 25th day of July (having noted their decision to do so a month before), and selected Dorcas Starbuck to act as their Clerk. They managed to collect 25 shillings, 10 pence; quite ecclipsing the men Friends. This pattern nontinued to prevail so that after thirty years, the men had raised about £65. - to the women's £98. After that the men proved to be the substantial contributors. It is hard to calculate purchasing power especially in a time of inflating currency, but probably a total equivalent to $8000 dollars was raised, or 265 dollars per year, on the average. The women generally had little business. Once a year they usually continued with a seventh Meeting for Worship, concluding Nantucket's Yearly Meeting week - the equivalent of an annual religious retreat; beginning Sunday morning and ending Thursday noon. The time chosen - late in June, finds the Nantucket moors sheathed in flowers, revaling in luxuriousness any alpine pastures. The heat of summer, not yet unbearable, makes it an ideal season. Often cloudless skies prevail.

In July Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and Nathaniel Gardner were asked to attend Quarterly Meeting in Newport, as the first official representatives from Nantucket. There they were admitted to the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders =formed in 1701) and were appointed "Overseers of Worship and Testimony" on Nantucket. No local subordinate gathering of ministers and elders appeared at this time on the Island, but the "imprimatur" had been acquired. The Nantucket brothers-in-law also attended the regular Quarterly Meeting business session, which had asked that "overseers" for all Meetings for Worship be named.

In the autumn the two were back again in Newport taking part in the appointment of Ebebeezer Slocumb to talk to Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts regarding the inequity of including the salaries of the established Puritan clergy in the general tax levy. Naturally Quakers refused such support. In Dartmouth in 1708 the Quaker tax-collector Deliverance Smith had been arrested for failure to collect the church tax. It would appear that Nantucketers often missed winter and spring sessions of Quarterly Meeting. The trip was arduous, even dangerous on occasion. And as for representatives of women Friends attending the Women's Quarterly Meeting, there is no record extant, though the Women's Quarterly Meeting, started in 1704. Years later it is implied that the Clerk, Dorcas Starbuck, was in the habit of attending - but it is safe to assume that even this was minimal. Incidentally visitors to Nantucket that autumn of 1708 included Joseph Smith, a minister of Providence local and Greenwich M.M., who was brought along by Ephriam Hicks (on his third visit). Dorcas Easton, wife of the Governor who appeared the first year visits were made, came on from Newport a decade after her husband, with a widow Alice Anthony, sister-in-law of William. No doubt they reported to the winter Quarterly Meeting that the new Monthly Meeting on Nantucket appeared to

be functioning satisfactorily.

Nathaniel Starbuck did attend the three day sessions of New England Yearly Meeting in 1709 - at the Meetinghouse enlarged a decade before, in the heart of Newport - a building started in 1672 - and still standing. That was where Quarterly Meeting was also held, at least till 1710 when some sessions were held at Portsmouth R.I. Quakerism in Newport went back to 1657. As was observed the first General Meeting for New England Friends was held there in 1660, the year before London Yearly Meeting was formed. Then in 1683, a quarter century later, Newport became the center of an independent New England Yearly Meeting. Still another quarter century later, when Nathaniel Starbuck and Nathaniel Gardner formed the habit of sitting in the superior bodies, the Yearly Meeting included three Quarterly Meetings; Salem, Sandwich and Rhode Island. Salem had three Monthly Meetings; Sandwich two; and Rhode Island four. These last were Greenwich for western Rhode Island; Rhode Island for eastern Rhode Island; Dartmouth for the Buzzards Bay area; and Nantucket for the Islands. Both Yearly and Quarterly groupings were vital assemblies as New England Quakerism had undergone rapid expansion ~~xxx~~ a decade before - perhaps it is better to say that it was expanding then and there very rapidly. The Puritans of Boston were dismayed at this, to say the least. They had made their peace with the Baptists - the other dominant Rhode Island persuation - only to face the feared Quakers undergoing population explosion. The center of anti-Puritan activity was naturally Newport. And there the men's Clerk from Nantucket learned how to prevent Boston from putting pressure on the Island.

Nathaniel Starbuck not only attended Yearly Meeting in 1709, but returned to Newport after the second Nantucket General Meeting, to sit on a Quarterly Meeting Committee in judging an appeal from Abraham Anthony - whose kinswoman, Alice Anthony had visited the

Island in the autumn of 1708. He also sat on the committee which produced the first book of discipline for New England Friends.

That year Nantucket began the custom of sending written reports to Quarterly Meeting (useful if no one could get to Newport.) In this instance Mary (Coffin) Starbuck undertook her sole service for Nantucket Monthly Meeting in indicating "things are pretty well amounst us". That summer report apparently was not repeated in the 1708-1711 period. Men Friends in the autumn asked Mary's husband Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. to join his three Quaker sons in writing their report, which continued his sole service to the Meeting, it would appear. Unfortunately its contents are unknown at this reading.

Nathaniel Sr. wrote again in the spring of 1710, while in the summer, after the second General Meeting, Nathaniel was helped in writing his now usual report by Nathaniel Gardner (who went with him to Yearly Meeting) and his brother Jethro Starbuck. Apparently Capt. Gardner and the men's clerk took this opportunity of sailing on south to Burlington, New Jersey, then one of the two centers of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and from which Gardner wrote Starbuck (after the latter's return) that he wished he were home. Perhaps the number of Philadelphia ~~Xxxxxxxx~~ Friends gathered at their semi-annual autumn session was overpowering. Probably Gardner went at the invitation of Griffith Owen and John Salkeld, very prominent in both the political and religious life of Penn's "Holy Experiment". Griffith Owen was probably the greatest living American Friend, chairman of most important committees in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: the man who arranged the setting off of North Carolina and Virginia Yearly Meetings, and the full acceptance by Philadelphia of New England Yearly Meeting. He was also chiefly responsible both for the founding of the Yearly Meeting of

Ministers and Elders in Philadelphia in 1701, and originating their book of discipline in 1703, which formed the basis of that adopted by New England Yearly Meeting. John Salkeld was known as "Bishop Salkeld" by non-Quakers in Philadelphia. He persuaded the ministers to let the elders sit with them and established a Second Day Meeting in Philadelphia which undertook to arrange itineraries for the flood of visiting Friends moving up and down the American seabord; a good many of whom got to Nantucket. Apparently Griffith Owen, who had once been William Penn's personal physician, attended Nathaniel Gardner's wife at her last illness. He was a Haverford Friend who sat in the Pennsylvania Legislature. Salkeld was from Chester where his ready wit won him a wide reputation. In addition he appears among the earliest Quakers to have questioned slavery. It is probable that Nathaniel Gardner met Thomas Chalkley the great Quaker traveller, who was the most prominent visitor to Nantucket the initial year of 1698, and was again there in 1704 - in fact proposed to Mary Starbuck that year, that she sponsor the Nantucket Meeting for Worship. Owen and Salkeld visited Nantucket Meeting in 1709, indicating in effect that even august Philadelphia was taking serious account of the far away Island.

The first Quaker journalist to give an account of the new Monthly Meeting was William Baldwin who arrived in the summer of 1709. He wrote -

> Soo to Nantucket, there is a tender visitation on the inhabitants of that place. Two mists lately raised [N. Starbuck Jr. and N. Gardner] where is a Meeting for Worship and a Monthly Meeting and care for good order respected among them. We had divers Meetings with them where resorted most of

the Island, so may say a time of love to us, leaving them in Union, Love and Tenderness.

Baldwin was en route from Britain to Middletown, Bucks Co. Penna. from which he returned to Nantucket in 1716 to see their enlarged Quaker Meetinghouse. With Baldwin was Hugh Durborough, a member of Philadelphia M.M. much concerned to fight off George Kieth. Gov. Easton appeared again, no doubt encouraged by his wife to return - and with her came Ruth Smith of Dartmouth, possibly wife, certainly kin of the imprisoned tax-collector.

Apparently no one wrote a report in the autumn of 1710. Possibly Nathaniel Gardner stopped by for Quarterly Meeting on his way back from the Delaware region. In any case Starbuck again penned the spring report for 1711, and again in the autumn - when a minute was also composed for his aunt Sarah Austin to take home to Dover - a minute expressing the gratefulness of the Island community to a 79 year old "mother in Israel" who had ministered during the initial three years. Sarah Austin's departure forms the first evidence that a new stability had been reached. Meanwhile in 1710 the General Meeting on Nantucket had brought Jacob Mott Sr. for a next to last visit, as he died in 1711. No other outside Friend had so assiduously cultivated the Nantucket Quaker growth. On this occasion Mott brought with him a William Wilkinson of Providence, who had just returned from a tour of the southern colonies as companion to William Baldwin (whose journal account for the year before was been noticed). Jacob Mott's final visit allowed him to sit in the Ministers' Gallery of the new Meetinghouse. Peleg Slocumb was alongside, also Anthony Morris of Philadelphia, and Thomas Shackle of Haddenfield N.J. (at whose home that Monthly Meeting was held as they only built a Meetinghouse in 1721).

The Meetinghouse was ready for use during the General Meeting of 1711. No dimensions of the building have come down to us,

though the nearly contemporary house in Dartmouth stood 35'x 30' and that at Meshanticut, Rhode Island, still stands. The Cape May Meetinghouse, also contemporary, is of similar dimensions. If so, the Nantucket house seated about 125 persons, and was used for the Men's Mouthly Meeting, First Day and Fifth Day Meetings for Worship,and as well for the General Meeting which again must have spilled into the yard. Apparently Capt. Silvanus Hussey was the builder. Perhaps the excitement of occupying the new property took priority, but whatever the consideration, no one went to Yearly Meeting in 1711. At least there is no record of any one going, though Nathaniel got to summer Quarterly Meeting a month later.

Starbuck had reason to be proud of the Meetinghouse, endowed as it was by Puritan Massachusetts, by the town of Sherburne(on Nantucket). What happened was that the Clerk donated an acre of his land east of his house and in return the Proprietary granted him another acre. This highly irregular transaction was ratified by the Town Meeting in May of 1710. Apparently the Commonwealth of Massachusetts never dug out the truth of this manouvre. And George Gardner, who might have complained, was too busy polishing up the Islands armament, which two months earlier he had succeeded in having removed from the pacifist home of the men's Clerk. The War of the Spanish Succession was still on, and periodically an alarm was sounded on the isolated Island.

The most impressive visitor at General Meeting was the Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Anthony Morris one of the most prominent Friends from Penn's colony yet to reach the Island. Morris was a judge in the Colonial Superior Court, as well as Mayor of the city of Philadelphia and rather naturally Clerk of Philadelphia Monthly and Yearly Meeting. He is also remembered as the chief founder of the William Penn Charter School, one of

the best Quaker private schools in America; and of the Francis Perrots Sons Malting Company, the oldest firm still operating in America (founded 1681). What these visitors witnessed was the decisive event which clinched the future for Nantucket Quakerism. This was the convincement by the Macy family of the hypothesis that Quaker principles guaranteed the future for the Island. The Macys were a large cohesive family whose grandfather founder Thomas Macy had originally dreamed up the Nantucket settlement as a free haven from Boston's persecuting oligharchy. Ironically his closest associate, Tristram Coffin, held him in financial bondage. During the disturbed political warfare of the 1670s Macy was generally favorable toward Peter Folger's egalitarianism, while opposed to John Gardner's harsh radicalism. Thus he was torn apart by the conflict. His grandchildren hesitated in lining up with the Quaker ethic which appeared radical in one sense - but to all intents and purposes was being used by the landed and financial establishment. It is probable that Anthony Morris helped place Quakerism in its wider international context, and thus removed their doubts. The Macy family had received land fronting on what is now Nantucket Harbor. After they joined Meeting they entered into partnership with the Starbucks in their whaling enterprises. The wharfs they constructed became the unloading stages in a world wide industry of incredible profitability. Thus the anti-Quaker minority was isolated to a relative handful. But the alliance had its uneasinesses half a century later, for instance, a serious breach occurred. As the first generation of 1708 Quakers were decimated (1760), the Macy clan grew ever more uneasy, until a decade later they led the great Nantucket migration to Piedmont, North Carolina at least partly in consequence.

Having taken a survey of how Nantucket Quakerism fitted into the wider scene during its first three years, it is well to

well to scrutinize the Society of Friends more as a purely Island phenomena. In 1705 Nathaniel Starbuck had succeeded Sir William Gayer as Town Clerk. Two years later Starbuck instituted the Quaker calendar in his record book. Already he had "spread" in the town Minutes the 1689 agreement by which each full share owner in the Proprietary was allowed 40 head of cattle, 2 horses and 100 sheep; and the fact that sixteen sheep equalled one horse, and eight sheep one cow. All this came about because in 1702 Stephen Hussey sought to pasture more than what his quota allowed. Once the town impounded the extra sheep, Hussey sued the town officials. After losing his case in the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, an appeal went, uselessly as it turned out, to the General Court (Legislature) in Boston. In 1706 Hussey was granted permission to scrutinize the town records on the subject. Consequently early in 1708 he was ready with "propositions", and the town asked Gayer to help Starbuck get its answers prepared. All this took place when Hussey signed on as one of eight petitioning members for the Monthly Meeting to be set up. Coincidentally that was the time the town asked John Macy Jr. to build a new prison.

The controversy with Hussey went into a quiet period as the Meeting started, but the autumn when a second delegation of four Rhode Island Quakers appeared - one having been fined in 1708 for refusing military service in Providence, the storm broke. Hussey sued Stephen Coffin Jr. and the other town Selectmen for having impounded 186 sheep. In fact the case so shook the town that systematic court records began to be kept from that point onwards. On the Jury there sat among others Jabez Bunker and young Matthew Jenkins, both Quakers. Early in 1709 Hussey lost his case, while three months later the town appointed a committee to discuss his titles to lands. Once again the case became

quiescent, at least till 1711. Stephen then sent his young son George to Harvard to "train up" as a lawyer to defear his opponents. One wonders what advice the Rhode Island Quakers gave. Stephen claimed to be concerned for the Indians despoiled of goods by whale boat crews, but himself kept negro slaves. He had remained true to pacifist principles in the privateer scare in 1695, but was hailed into court for smuggling. He would have been more effective, if more consistent in his activities.

In 1709 at General Meeting time, Thomas Cornell who had visited in 1708, and had served on the Yearly Meeting committee, arrived again and witnessed to the fact that the question of a Meetinghouse was agitated anew after a years lapse. Ebeneezer Slocumb and the two Jacob Motts, father and son, who were also along , may well have taken initiative furthering this line. Later in the summer when Gov. John Easton was in town the possibility of a Meetinghouse was again raised.

Then the first of a tremendous series of Nantucket Quaker marriages were carreied out. Ebeneezer Gardner asked to marry Eunice Coffin (ward of Stephen Coffin Jr.). His mother was buried earlier on that year - taking to her grave a strong anti-Quaker sentiment. Some 27 persons attended the wedding including a Justice of the Peace, though this was not always the rule for Quaker ceremonies on Nantucket. Stephen Coffin Jr., minister and Selectman, acted with Jethro Starbuck, elder and Selectman to enquire into minister Nathaniel's son. Dorcas Starbuck looked after her long with Priscilla Coleman, the Minister. Ebeneezer and Eunice's marriage lasted but nine years, when she died leaving him with four small children. Naturally he remarried directly but out of Meeting, so that the four first children grew up somewhat alienated from Friends' principles. Only one raised a Quaker family. This was followed late in 1709 by the marriage of Nathaniel Barnard Jr. and Judith (Coffin)

Folger (widow of Eleazer's son, Peter). She was a Quaker daughter of Stephen Coffin Sr. He was the first of his family to be drawn into the Quaker orbit, twice a widower, one-time brother-in-law of the men's Clerk. Extraordinarily no committees of Enquiry were named, nor did any justice of the peace sit in on the ceremony. Four more weddings occurred during this period, making six Quakers to only one non-Quaker ceremony during the years 1708 to 1712. Obviously the Quaker element was the growing edge of the community.

The Barnard - Folger wedding was attended by only sixteen witnesses - did this indicate adverse sentiment toward the union in the community? It is hard to say. Nathaniel Barnard was then aged 39, father of a two year old daughter, while Judith, had four small children who she brought into his household. Nathaniel and Judith were parents to four more children before he died nine years later in 1718. Judith was to marry again. Two of Nathaniel's brothers became Quakers, also by marriage. The first of these in 1711, by marrying a daughter of minister Nathaniel Gardner. When the Macys came over also in 1711, one of them Sarah (Macy) Barnard, who had married John Barnard, Nathaniel's elder brother, became an active Friend, and raised their five children as Quakers, though John Barnard like most of his family showed a marked hesitation about the new religion. The Barnards were substantial cultivated people who feared the anti-arts orientation of the Society of Friends, much as did Sir William Gayer. So Nathaniel Barnard's marriage "in" was a victory for the Meeting. He was a sheep farmer as were his parents and grandparents before him.

A third marriage was that of Samuel Gardner, son of the much married James influenced by the household in which the dowager Sarah Gardner then made her residence. Actually Samuel had married a daughter of Stephen Coffin (sister to Judith

Barnard) who died childless the year the Meeting started. Now aged only 28, he sought alliance with Patience Swain, daughter of Quaker John, a girl who was nine years his senior. Once again Stephen Coffin Jr. (his brother-in-law) and this time, Barnabas Starbuck, were chosen to make enquiries for the sake of "clearness". Women Friends were content to let Dorcas and Priscilla take care of Patience. For the first time men Friends specifically named overseers for the wedding - in this case the two men who made enquiries - though this was hardly the rule for later marriages. Samuel and Patience's marriage lasted 36 years till her death. During that time they raised five children. And Samuel, then an Elder remarried a second time. All five children raised Quaker families in due season.

The Meeting tended to be conservative in choosing marriage counsellors. For instance Stephen Coffin, who was serving his second appointment looked after seven others before his early death in 1725. Among these are found the two outstanding ministers in the next generation, Jethro Starbuck, Stephen's first colleague in marriage counselling, acted in fifteen cases in all. But he lived to near the century mark. Barnabas Starbuck served only twice, however, as a bachelor, the circumstance is not startling. Dorcas Starbuck looked after nine women Friends, when the business of "clerking" became too absorbing. Priscilla Coleman handled fifteen. Of the three marriage councellors Stephen was by far the most active in civic affairs. As early as 1702 he had been named "fence viewer" by the town, and in 1707 was in charge of the shearing of sheep. In 1705 he had served as constable and in 1706 set off lands in fee simple for the Proprietary. In 1707 he was responsible for collecting all stray cattle, and in 1711 acted as assessor of taxes. When the Macys came into the Meeting it was Stephen who was given the job of laying out south shore lots south of

the Wesko area already in possession of the Macy family for the most part. And Stephen's sister Judith married Nathaniel Barnard, the latter's name was also drawn into public service.

The next marriage was that of Soloman Coleman, youngest brother of John Coleman Jr. who married Mary Macy, sister of Sarah Barnard. Naturally the year was 1711. Attendance was normal, not low as had been the case for both the Barnard - Folger and the Gardner - Swain nuptials. Soloman had not always exhibited a steady charaster. For instance in 1708 he had been fined for selling rum to the Indians. Already four years before an Indian uprising had been nipped in the bud, and one native executed. Generally the Island's Indians were docile, but liquor had unpredictable effects. Both Soloman and Mary were aged 26 when they married. But their happiness was not to last. Mary died four years later (leaving one daughter) so that widower Soloman would marry again. There appears to be no record who enquired into Soloman, while naturally Dorcas and Priscilla handled Mary. They were the first couple married in the Meetinghouse.

One other Macy marriage was at least started in 1711. This was for Jabez Macy, brother of Sarah Barnard and Mary Coleman. He was a whaler of note, who significantly asked to marry Sarah Starbuck, daughter of Jethro and Dorcas - thus sealing as it were, the whaling - Quaker family pact. The actual ceremony only took place late in 1712, after the completion of a voyage - already Nantucketers were venturing out on to the high seas. Jethro was asked to look into his future son-in-law with John Macy Jr. head of that house; while Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard and Priscilla Coleman, the minister, visited Sarah. Jabez and Sarah were blessed with nine children and a happy marriage lasting 66 years. However he was disowned in 1760. Three of their children never married and most of the others emigrated to

North Carolina. Two alone raised Nantucket Quaker families.

In the autumn of 1711 when Sarah Austin got a returning Minute to Dover N.H., Benjamin Barnard, brother of Nathaniel asked to marry Judith Gardner, daughter of Minister Nathaniel. Jethro Starbuck and Stephen Coffin Jr. enquired into his clearness while Dorcas Starbuck and Priscilla Coleman looked after the bride. In later years Judith was most active in Meeting affairs. Benjamin was lost at sea 18 years after their marriage, leaving Judith with eight children; mostly young. Six of these raised Quaker families.

One other marriage of the time was held up for the completion of what may have been the initial deep sea Nantucket whaling adventure. This was for Jethro Folger, son of Quaker John, and Mary Starbuck, daughter of the Men's Clerk. Barnabas Starbuck and John Coleman Jr. were asked to look into his case, while the usual Dorcas and Priscilla examined their niece. Application was made in 1710. The wedding occurred in 1711, when Jethro replaced Barnabas as overseer. Jethro and Mary lived in harmony for 52 years, had nine children, six of whom raised Quaker families on the Island in the next generation. For many years Jethro Folger would "sit head" to time the Meeting.

The Quaker weddings added ten new adult members in 1709-1711 meanwhile two losses were recorded. One was Sarah Austin. (cont) The other was her son-in-law, John Coffin of Edgartown, who died in 1711, the first Quaker death to be recorded. John left two brothers, one sister, three sons and three daughters living on the islands, also six grandsons and two granddaughters - a total of 14 descendants - small in comparison with his peers. Against these two losses may be placed six Macy accessions. John Coffin's widow moved to Nantucket for the

remaining seven years of her life. His tombstone is the oldest in the Tower Hill Burial ground above Edgartown Harbor. No scruples Quaker were about to remove it as was the case with early Nantucket stones.

But to return to the Macy accessions. John Macy the eldest of the four brothers, aged 36, had married his cousin Judith (Worth) Macy in 1707. They had three children by 1711. He built the jail in 1708 and had served on a marriage committee in 1711. Thomas Macy, aged 21, had married Miriam Coffin, a sister of Samuel Coffin from Edgartown in 1706 and had two children by 1711. A juryman in 1707 he became a Selectman in 1709 and served as Sheriff in 1710. Richard Macy the tallest and the strongest both physically and spiritually, actually married in 1711 (the one "out-of-Meeting" marriage). He had built the landing stage in 1710. His wife Deborah (Pinkham) Macy was a granddaughter of magistrate James Coffin. These additions raised the adult membership to the neighborhood of sixty rather than fifty.

The second period of Nantucket Meeting lasted from 1711 to 1717 when the Meetinghouse had to be enlarged. In the outside world the Peace of Utrecht made for greater security. This was much appreciated as Damaris Coffin's husband Capt. Nathaniel had been incarcerated in a French prison in 1711 and was waiting to be freed. Damaris' brother had sought his release from London to no avail. Peace would also mean that minister Nathaniel Gardner would get another travelling Minute (as he had done for Philadelphia in mid-summer 1710) - this time to visit Great Britain. Prosperity would be greater. It would not be as necessary for women Friends to come to the aid of an Elizabeth Cartwright, as they did to the tune of 38 shillings in 1711 - though in 1713 they did give 40 shillings to Mary Howes, widow of Jeremiah Howes of Yarmouth, brother of Thomas Sr. (she was

an Edgartown - born woman who had long since married into Yarmouth Meeting).

The first sloops to be acquired after 1698 by the islanders appeared in 1710 and 1711; these being called the Hope and the Eagle. The first was Puritan-owned - Boston-built of 40 tons weight. The second 30 tons, built at Scituate, by the Quaker firm of Wanton Brothers and was owned by the Starbuck-Macy partners; Silvanus Hussey, Bachelor's brother - not yet a Quaker - served as Captain. Wood on the Island was so short that a fine of 10 shillings per cartload was levied in 1709. There was of course no question of building more than a 12 foot whale boat on Nantucket itself. Actually these were constructed of coatue cedar, but were being fast outmoded by 1712. That was the year in which the first sperm whale was captured (though one beached sperm came ashore in the 1660s).

The three years from 1708 to 1711 were in fact years of tremendous social change, especially when compared with the decade stretching back from 1708 to 1698, to the first appearance of the "publick" Friends. Notwithstanding few of the older generation of Nantucketers disappeared. Two disappearances, at least, are worth noting. One was Sir William Gayer, who died in 1710, soon after being directed by the town to mount two cannon to guard the mouth of the harbor. His house, situated in what is now the northern part of Nantucket Town, went to Damaris Coffin - his property was divided in fact equally with her sister Dorcas Starbuck, as their brother did not appear. Apparently Sir William's widow, a second wife, got little. Among the chattels inherited was a solid shelf of Latin books handed on to Damaris' son Benjamin Coffin (who later opened a school). Sir William left two daughters, six granddaughters and six grandsons on Nantucket, like John Coffin, a meagre list of 14 descendants. Then in 1712 came a letter from cousins in

England indicating that as their brother Sir William Gayer Jr. was dead, he had left each sister the princely sum of £1,000. (82,000 dollars) each and in addition a similar amount to Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, an older sister of Eunice Gardner's, whom the younger Sir William had courted unsuccessfully. Thus three families suddenly acquired the means to live comfortably at the moment the whaling industry was begging for investors.

The second Nantucket death was that of William Bunker, Jabez and Benjamin's father, in 1712. He had married an aunt of the Macy brothers. While she stayed out of Meeting, half of their eight children moved into the Quaker circle. Jabez himself inherited the family home after settling accounts with his five brothers. William Bunker left 36 descendants at the time of his death; viz. seven sons and two daughters; sixteen grandsons and eleven granddaughters in all, a goodly company for a man of 72 years. The so-called "Woodbox" Inn on Nantucket may have been his residence.

Still another disappearance, though not necesaarily by death was that of John Frost, the town's schoolmoaster, who preferred the excitement of privateering to ~~p~~policing children. His date of daparture is not known, but his widow Tabotha (Trott) Frost remarried in 1712, probably by Quaker ceremony in Newport. This would lead to her disownment on Nantucket in 1713, but that story comes in the next chapter.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 9.

SECOND SIX YEARS 1712-1717

There are good arguments that 1716 rather than 1717 ended the second period of Nantucket Quaker history. In 1716 the Meetinghouse was enlarged by a 20' addition, probably to increase the attendance to 200, and a shutter was installed so that women Friends could hold their Monthly Meetings separated only by a dim earshot. A year later the founder Mary Starbuck died, and her home, the "Parliament House" lost its quality as a public meeting place. The Great Mary had been a Quaker for fifteen years. Dying aged 72, she left three sons and three daughters on the Island, thirty-four grandsons and seventeen granddaughters, a total of 57. Two brothers also survived, Magistrate James Coffin, and her Quaker brother, Stephen Coffin, the great landowner. Mary's husband was also left behind. Her great work was to transform the universally high regard with which she was held, particularly after the death of her father-in-law in 1690, into a flexible non-clerical religious government. In many respects she can be compared to Margaret Fox, the Quaker founder's wife. Both were women of substance - substance which was later a burden to both their families. Long since Mary had turned over the care of their Indian trading post to Nathaniel. By 1717 it was a backwater waiting for the senior Starbuck to die, and then to be liquidated.

But to return to the six years in question - they were years in which the Meeting had to get used to the loss of two voices. In 1708 there had been six resident ministers: Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., Nathaniel Gardner, Staphen Coffin Jr., Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman and Sarah (Starbuck) Austin. "Austin" Sarah left in 1711, and Nathaniel Gardner set off to England in 1712 to die there in 1714. Probably another six Friends spoke occasionally in Meeting - but the loss was heavy - and the Great Mary ageing.

Nathaniel Gardner left an estate totalling £698.10s.7½d., which was bequeathed equally to his children - that is £77.12s.3½d. to each. To effect this the house and land had to be sold. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., and his cousin Stephen Coffin Jr., the other two ministers, were entrusted with this unhappy responsibility. Among the items of the estate which were listed as of particular value were Nathaniel's bed and bolster, his clothes, his loans to Indians and a set of imported English knives. There was also fine linen, needles, a Gunter scale, a quadrant, shoemaker's tools, a money scale, silver spoons and cup, and a Bible. In fact personal items were evaluated at £484., leaving house and land at something over £214. In the final settlement Ebeneezer Gardner and Hannah Bunker took possession of real estate as constituting their share. Nathaniel Gardner had been a man of style as well as substance. His Quaker career had been brief, probably only eight years in all. At his death Capt. Nathaniel was only 43 years of age. Two of his nine children were minors - probably put under the legal care of their brother, Peleg (who married in 1714 into the anti-Quaker Gardner clan). In any case they never were drawn into Meeting as were the other six. In addition to his widowed Quaker mother, Nathaniel left two brothers and three sisters (all non-Quakers). There were four grandsons and one granddaughter, a total of 14 descendants. Capt. Nathaniel

had supplied Josiah Franklin, Benjamin's father, with tallow for his "chandlery" in Boston, when active in the business world.

The losses made the visits of public Friends the more impressive. The first visitors after the General Meeting of 1711 were Thomas Potts, a minister of Abington M.M. (Pennsylvania), accompanied by William Barker of Newport (and the 1708 committee). They were brought over by Peleg Slocumb Jr. The main attraction in 1712 was John Oxley of Philadelphia, destined soon to move back to England, but from that base to visit the colonies frequently. Oxley died in the Barbadoes in 1743, after making his home there. Alice Anthony of Newport was on hand after four years, and Joseph Smith of Providence (Greenwich Monthly Meeting) similarly. He had been fined for refusing military service at the time of first appearing. With them came an elder of Dartmouth Meeting called William Wood. No visitors came for the annual retreat. All this was made up for in 1713, when Thomas Chalkley put in a third appearance, in company with an English Friend called John Farmer, who was a very controversial figure, as he condemned slavery root and branch. Slavery was not unknown even on Nantucket. For instance Sir William Gayer manemitted his negro named Africa in his last Will and Testament. In 1718 Stephen Hussey left his negro, called Mark, to Capt. Silvanus, and his negress Dorothy to Theodate, his youngest daughter. Worse, some Quaker captains sailing from Newport actually engaged in the slave trade. Farmer's Journal gives an impression of a warm welcome given him by Nantucket Friends, while Thomas Chalkley leaves but a cursory reference to this visit, though his anti-slavery views were well known. In 1708 Newport had 29 sail taking part in the infamous "three-cornered" trade, and double that number by 1721.

Also in attendance was a Tristram Allen from Pennsylvania, and so were three women Friends: Ann Chapman, a young English girl of unusual eloquence, Ann had just returned from a trip to Britain. Then there was her companion Alice Wildman, an elder from Dartmouth and naturally Susannah Freeborn of Newport, the spirited spinster, who was making her fourth visit. (Previously she had come in 1701, in 1702 when Mary Starbuck became a Quaker, and in 1704 when the Meeting began and in 1707.) Obviously Susannah was strong on women's rights.

In 1714 the visitors included James Dickinson of County Cumberland, England, whose repertary of experiences included a night escape from cut-throats on bleak Scottish moors - in company with a young Quakeress. It was Dickinson who inspired Thomas Besse to prepare his book listing the sufferings of Friends. He was to all accounts a great preacher, and notable opponent of the Kiethian Quaker separatists (who ceased activity in 1717). It should be observed that Keith was the first Philadelphian to attack slavery in print. Dickinson's companion, an Irishman called James Cooper, emigrated to Philadelphia. That area furnished a Richard Smith Jr., Clerk of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, member of the State Legislature and progenitor of a most literary family in Burlington, New Jersey. He had appeared as companion to another English minister, John Giles, of whom I know nothing.

At other times than the Nantucket General Meeting, additional visitors came. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. carefully recorded in his little visitors' book, the names and places of origin of all comers. Such listing was not uncommon. But the unceasing flood of visiting Quaker ministers brings admiration, particularly as travel was not the pleasant distraction as it has since become. Early in 1713 Jacob Merrill of Hampton, Mass. (Salem Quarterly

Meeting) appeared. After the retreat of that year, John Lowden and Francis Swain, founders of New Garden Monthly Meeting on the Pennsylvania frontier, showed up. Francis was kin to the Nantucket family of that name. John Lowden, the minister, was an Irishman due to finish his earthly career directly. Then early in 1714, Samuel Gaskell and Samuel Collins, of Salem Monthly Meeting, visited. In the case of the former his daughter would marry on to Nantucket in later years. The latter had visited Gov. Joseph Dudley in 1704 along with Thomas Story to speak for conscientious objestors to the militia then being raised against the Indian menace. Both Gaskell's and Collins's names were recorded in the Minutes.

The loss of Capt. Gardner insured that Nathaniel Starbuck would be even more attentive to Quarterly and Yearly Meeting responsibility. In glancing over the years 1712-1714, Nathaniel wrote reports for the spring "quarters" in 1712 and 1713. Barnabas Starbuck was, however, revailed upon to share in this service as was shown by his preparing the summer and autumn sessions in 1712, and at the Yearly Meetings of 1713 and 1714. But it is obvious that the men's Clerk was less frequently in Newport. Probably the expanding whaling industry occupied his time - and the constantly disturbing case of Stephen Hussey was distracting. In the summer of 1713 Barnabas attended Quarterly Meeting for the first time. A year later Jethro Starbuck appeared, and brought along the presiding elder, John Coleman Jr. As far as business was concerned the summer session of Quarterly Meeting in 1712 was largely devoted to Ebeneezer Slcoumb's report on his presenting the Rhode Island Legislature with a statement justifying Quaker refusal to participate in the war. At that time Nathaniel was appointed book agent for Quaker publications for Nantucket. In fact the Monthly Meeting Library dates from that time. In the autumn of that year Slocumb and

John Wanton were asked to appear before the Legislature to petition for laws excusing Quakers from militia service. In addition a list of "sufferings" connected with the militia laws was ordered to be made up. Also it was agreed that no tombstone should be placed over Quaker graves. In the summer of 1713 Barnabas heard Slocumb report that the Quaker petition was voted down. Fortunately for the Meeting, the Peace of Utrecht was near. At that time apportionment for raising quotas of Meeting expenses would seem to indicate the following membership in the four Monthly Meetings: Nantucket 70; Dartmouth 170; Rhode Island 475; and Greenwich 170; total 885 (of whom 600 were citizens of Rhode Island).

Late in 1711 the town, acting under the leadership of Stephen Coffin Jr., impounded 95 more of Stephen Hussey's sheep. Hussey then sued the town. As far as his son George Hussey was concerned, his term at Harvard ended badly. Somewhat of a practical joker, the son was expelled for being found dressed as a woman in Boston. So ended any dream of fighting off the Starbuck - Coffin land monopolists through his son. In fact George eventually married one of the Clerk's daughters, and turned what legal ability he had acquired, to the service of the establishment. Jacob Merrill the spring visitor of 1713 proposed that the Meeting itself take Hussey to task for suing other members. Quaker arbitration methods were laid down in the discipline. So in May 1713 Nathaniel Starbuck was appointed with a newcomer to Meeting, Joseph Marshall, merchant, one time of Boston, to visit Stephen on behalf of the Meeting. Stephen's reply that Quaker arbitration was inapplicable as some of the Selectmen were non-Quakers, led the Meeting to add Stephen Coffin Jr. to the Hussey committee - which pretty clearly sounded like "Meeting vs Hussey" rather than "Meeting

to reason with Hussey". Was it Thomas Chalkley, who had knew Stephen Hussey in days past, who encouraged this hardening of policy? Later that year Nathaniel and six others signed the paper disowning Tabotha (Trott) Frost-Brown for re-marrying, without assuring that her previous pirate husband was dead. The shame of this act caused Anna Trott, her mother to cease to sit head of the Women's Meeting (after five years service) leaving that station to Judith Barnard. More important the Meeting had taken the decision to disown - to remove a member from its rolls. Stephen Hussey(s fate could be foreseen. But in July of 1713 Stephen promised to withdraw his suit, if the Meeting would pursuade the town officials to withdraw their claims. Thus a third period of quiescence occurred in the thorny problem. Tabotha had three Quaker sisters, one a member of Yarmouth Meeting. There were also three non-Quaker brothers, a non-Quaker sister, and father, and a small son involved in this unhappy event.

Three years passed and Stephen, still unhappy at his loss of sheep in 1711, re-activated the suit. A year later, that is in the autumn of 1717, Jethro Starbuck was asked to make a final "last ditch" appeal. But as Stephen refused in the final analysis to meet Jethro, as he had promised to do, he was also disowned. Instead Stephen had reocured warrants for arrest and had committed Stephen Coffin Jr. and others of the Selectmen to jail. Stephen Hussey was then 87 years of age. Even after the drastic action he was advised to "avoid contests and janglings" in 1718, the year of his death. Stephen was too much the political contestant ever to accept defeat, especially if the iron hand of the Proprietary was clothed in the velvet glove of the Quaker way of life. Mary Starbuck did live to witness this use of her religious discipline. What did she think of it? In any case John Cadwallader, a prominent Philadelphia Friend, was on hand to reassure Nathaniel Starbuck as he penned the document removing

from the fellowship of Friends, the only Nantucketer who could remember George Fox personally. Even on the eve of his death in 1718, Stephen Hussey had again appealed to the General Court in Boston.

Stephen's three sons were his executors. To Martha his wife he left his house, land, and a third negro slave, Sarah. To Batchelor's son Stephen, his namesake, he left his precious law books - not to George! But George, Silvanus and Batchelor were to share in the sheep and cattle. To his three younger daughters he left money: £35 to Abigail Howes; £70 to Mary Worth and £104 to Theodate Hussey, his favorite. Puella Gorham, the eldest was not mentioned. As she originally married off-Island she may well have taken a dowry then. Stephen was thus survived by his Puritan widow, three sons, four daughters, eight grandsons, ten granddaughters and one great-granddaughter, a total of 25 descendants.

Already in 1715, three years before Stephen, John Swain was buried, aged 82, less obviously inconsistent, Swain finished his course in the appearance of the odor of sanctity at least; listed as a minister no less. His testament was written with "worldly" not Quaker dating. As a widower he asked that his property be equally divided, though a few small gifts were first specified. Only one involved his children: this was a gift of 5 shillings to his only Quaker child, Patience Gardner. The gross estate was valued at £309.11s.6d.; net £293.5s.2d.; or roughly what each of minister Nathaniel Gardner's children got. Among the valuables listed in the estate were a silver tankard, a mirror, eight leather chairs, a Bible, a china platter and a new table. Swain had been a Quaker for at least 67 years, in contrast to Hussey's 45. Only Sarah Gardner was now left of the original Friends. John Swain was survived by three sons, four daughters, sixteen grandsons, five granddaughters and one

great-grandson, a total of 26 living on Nantucket - not a large number.

It seems that one of John Swain's grandsons had come into the Meeting. He was William Swain, son of John Swain Jr. and Experience (Folger) Swain, in fact one of nine children, seven of whom had been securely innoculated against Quakerism. But this William now 20 years of age, was a problem to himself, as a rather extraordinary Minute written in the winter of 1715 indicates. What he confessed to was his offer to seduce the wife of a neighbor, and for the fault he now asked forgiveness. Obviously public confession and public forgiveness was considered an acceptable social carthasis in early 18th century Nantucket. Quakerism was not Puritan in its approach, but it could not accept conduct which tore down the fabric of the family. The Nantucket M.M. reads -

> ... I have been prevailed upon by ye Enemy of my Soul to comit such things as are scandalous, a shame, and a Great Reproach to Religion, perticularly in offering to abuse and debauch my neighbor's wiffe, for which I am truly sorry and begg pardon of God ...

The direct action which was taken to pull William Swain into line, may have had its effect in helping decide that final action regarding Stephen Hussey was necessary. Again in 1716 William Swain was on the Meeting docket for gambling, and a year later for drunkeness.

Also in 1715 Mary (Macy) Coleman died, wife of Capt. Soloman, aged 30, leaving one small daughter, four brothers and three sisters, all eventually Quakers and one half-brother non-Quaker. She was the first woman married in the old Meetinghouse. Dorcas Starbuck and Priscilla Coffin had been the women's overseers. Mary Coleman was also survived by her Quaker grandmother, Sarah Gardner.

Another death during this second period was that of Eleazer Folger, aged 68, brother of Quaker John, the first school teacher on the Island and first representative in the "General Court" (Legislature) of Massachusetts after the transfer from New York (1691). He had long since withdrawn from politics in favor of James Coffin, neither of them pro-Quaker. His passing may be "balanced" against that of Capt. Gardner. Another anti-Quaker to die was Priscilla (Grafton) Gardner, aged 77, widow of John, the "fire-eater". She was not however, virulent in feeling. On one occasion it may be recalled when her husband quoted Roger Williams George Fox Digg'd out of his Burroughs, a punning polemic dating from Fox's visit to Rhode Island, Priscilla burst into tears and begged Thomas Story their guest to forgive the old military captain.(1604).
A third non-Quaker to die was Richard Pinkham, aged 58, first of that name on the Island, son-in-law of James Coffin and father of Deborah Macy. Five of his eight children would eventually join Meeting so that his passing hardly signified the disappearance of opposition.

Curiously there were no Quaker weddings from 1712 to 1716! Then Jethro Gardner, second son of James, brother of Elizabeth Gorham and Samuel, chose Kezia Folger, daughter of the head of the Women's Meeting and granddaughter of the legislator Eleazer, just disappearing from the Nantucket scene. Stephen Coffin Jr. and John Coleman Jr. investigated Jethro while Experience Coffin (Stephen's wife) and minister Priscilla looked after Kezia. John Coleman who had served once before eventually looked after nine young men. Experience handled a dozen cases in all. Jethro and Kezia lived together 18 years before he died, during which time she bore him eight children. Four of whom raised Quaker families on the Island. Kezia remarried after Jethro's death. Later in 1716 Jonathan Folger, John's

blacksmith son and Eleazer's nephew, proposed marriage with Margaret Gardner, daughter of the late minister. Jethro Starbuck joined Stephen Coffin on the marriage committee, where Experience and Priscilla were again active. Jonathan and Margaret lived together but a decade when she died. They had four children - three of whom raised Quaker families on Nantucket. Later Jonathan remarried, twice again. Right in the midst of the disownment of Stephen Hussey in the summer of 1717, his son George Hussey appeared with Elizabeth Starbuck, the Clerk's daughter as a kind of final absolute humiliation to the old man. Again Jethro Starbuck and Stephen Coffin acted; and again Experience and Priscilla. George and Elizabeth lived as husband and wife 57 years. Six of their eleven children raised Quaker families on the Island, though eventually George was disowned for drunkeness - suggestive that life had not proved satisfactory for him after all. Soon after the original Hussey disownment, Shubael Coffin, son of minister Stephen, and Priscilla Starbuck, daughter of minister Nathaniel, applied. This time it seemed well to go outside the inner circle of the establishment. John Coleman and John Macy acted. Priscilla Coleman sat, but with her was the women's Clerk, Dorcas Starbuck. The Coffin - Starbuck wedding of 1717 was intended to cement the partnership of the Proprietary and the whaling industry. Unlike most Nantucket marriages it failed, as will be seen later. There were only four marriages in the second period as compared to six in the first, or considering time span, one third as many. And there were but 23 children as compared with the earlier 40.

Despite problems and slowness regarding the adherence of new Quaker families, there was both growth internally and in increased involvement in the wider Quaker world. In the summer of 1713 two sets of Quaker books arrived, which the Clerk distributed.

One set was of Quaker primers for the training up children. At the same time a collection of money was undertaken to help Friends of Dover N.H. then building a new Meetinghouse. In the autumn of 1714, a similar appeal on behalf of Boston Friends was launched. In this case land had first to be purchased. That winter the windows of the Nantucket Meetinghouse had to be repaired. These may well have been leaded panes. Obviously the building was too small, so that decision was taken in the spring of 1716 to enlarge the house by an addition of 20' thus making dimensions of 35'x 50' in all probability. This house was ready for the General Meeting of June 1716.

In 1714 notice was taken in the Minutes of visiting Friends for the first time. In 1715 discussion was engaged upon the rightness of issuing "returning Minutes" for visitors. Directly afterward one such was prepared for Benjamin Holme of Penrith England, a wealthy literary Friend, who arranged for a public disputation of Quaker principles in the Puritan church of Edgartown. Obviously the existence of a small family Meeting for Worship held by a few Quakers in Edgartown interested the community, and Samuel Wiswall, the minister, was quite willing to tangle with Quaker theologians. Nathaniel Starbuck attended and obviously approved of taking doctrinal warfare into the "camp of the enemy". A year later Nantucket Monthly Meeting was edified by a letter sent by Holme commenting in retrospect on his experience. In his journal Holme wrote -

> ... and to the Island of Nantucket, where I staid about three Weeks, in which time I had several good and comfortable Meetings; ther being several honest Friends on the Island: From thence I went to another Island called Martha's Vineyard ... and Nathaniel Starbuck a Friend of Nantucket being with me, he accompanied me to [the Congregationalist] meeting ...

Holme's Journal refers to a letter which Nathaniel Starbuck sent him giving an account of the death of Nathaniel's mother in 1717. This letter has not yet come to light. And Holme in turn had sent first hand account of Patrick Henderson, with whom he had travelled in Ireland in 1714. Years later his Serious Call in Christian Love was received on the Island. It was at this time (spring 1717) that the certificate for John Farmer, the controversial anti-slavery advocate was read along with a paper he wrote against the institution of hold men bondage for life. Farmer was then granted a returning Minute. Obviously a lot of effervescence on the subject had taken place since his first visit. Farmer had fared less well in Newport, where his stand was disowned by the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in 1715. Soon afterwards Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, perhaps the most important in America, agreed with New England Friends. Farmer then appealed to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, which was negative to him. Then Philadelphia Yearly Meeting refused even to receive his appeal. In spite of all this, in 1717 the year Farmer returned to Britain, he was well received on Nantucket; which speaks volumes regarding how independent Quakerism was on the Island. The Nantucket Friend most responsive to Farmer's concern was minister Priscilla Coleman who worked on her husband among others, not only to free their Negro slaves, but to refuse to take Indians as slaves or indentured servants for a term of years. There is also an account published in the early 19th century of an extract of a testimony someone prepared regarding the "Great" Mary Starbuck, indicating she refused to let her husband keep two slaves which he had purchased. In her act Priscilla was obviously opposed by Stephen Coffin, whose policy was to keep the Indians respectful at all costs. In the Sabo Finch case in 1704 Coffin sat on the Grand

Jury which returned the indictment and he also voted for Sabo's execution when a member of the Petty Jury. Then ten years later Stephen chaired a jury composed of Quakers for the most part (Jethro Starbuck, Benjamin Gardner, Nathaniel Barnard and Joseph Marshall) which fined an Indian £5, and had him whipped with twenty lashes for assaulting a white man. Finally in 1715 Stephen got two Indians whipped and indentured to him for eight years each, for stealing his porperty. Treble damages for harm done, was the normal practice in Stephen Coffin's notion of justice.

In any case, in the autumn of 1716, the Monthly Meeting, upon being requested by Quarterly Meeting to give judgement, declared unequivocally that slavery was incompatible with the profession of Quakerism. No other Monthly Meeting in New England Yearly Meeting was forthright. Only in 1731 would Sarah Austin's Dover M. M. follow the Nantucket example. The Nantucket Minute read as follows:

> An Epistle to this Meeting (viz. whether it is agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and hold them for term of life) was considered and ye sense and judgement of this meeting is that its not agreeable to Truth ...

It took another half century to make slave-holding a disownable offence. Meanwhile Nantucket Friends had cleared their minds on the subject. Perhaps this judgement led Stephen Hussey to ignore their final efforts to bring him in line on other matters.

Women Friends continued their philanthropic work, allocating 40 shillings to Mary (Daggett) Howes, who had returned to Yarmouth when her sister-in-law took Joseph Marshall as her second husband in 1712. They also gave 40 shillings in 1716 to Sarah (Skiff) Long, aged 44, wife of Robert Long (and from her mother descended from the Barnards). Sarah Long probably became a member about 1712,

when her husband went off privateering with John Frost. A much more considerable expense was undertaken for Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, the woman who had "jilted" William Gayer Jr., who had moved to Boston with her family upon receiving her very generous legacy. In 1714 the home she bought went up in smoke. The Women's Meeting thereupon matched Mary Starbuck's munificent gift of £7. Abigail was the Great Mary's granddaughter. That the Meeting granted such a large sum may well indicate that Abigail Fitch had associated herself with the Boston Friends' Meeting. There is also record of Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham losing a house by fire in Boston at the same time. It appears the Women's Meeting sent £7 to her relief. Possibly there was but one fire, but it is probably both the Fitches and the Stephen Gorhams lived in Boston concurrently, perhaps in the same dwelling.

Women Friends also began to write reports more consistently to Quarterly Meeting. In the summer and autumn of 1714, Dinah Starbuck, the Clerk's wife, was assigned the duty. Dorcas wrote in the winter(!) of 1714; and the spring of 1716. And in the spring of 1717 it was Priscilla Coleman who reported. They too listed visitors for the first time since General Meeting in 1708. These were Richard Seaman of Flushing, Long Island, son-in-law of Adam Mott of Dartmouth; William Wilkinson of Providence (who had come before in 1710); Mary Bannister (an English Friend who had promoted the Quaker calendar on Nantucket in 1705) and her companion Ann (Rodman) Richardson, Ann was daughter of Dr. Thomas Rodman first Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting and Hannah (Clarke) Rodman, in turn daughter of Gov. Walter Clarke, who visited Nantucket in 1701. They arrived for General Meeting in 1715. Later in the season Thomas Thompson (who had first come in 1701) returned with David Irish, a member from Tiverton, Rhode Island. Thompson, an Englishman, who had

suffered much distraint of goods, did leave a journal account of Nantucket in 1701; in which he described a "proud people", a few of whom "confessed to ye truth" i.e. accepted his message. (These last two were not listed in the Women's Minutes.) Thompson and Irish heard William Swain read his "auto-criticism".

1715 marked a departure point for men Friends in dealing with Quarterly Meeting. Jethro Starbuck was asked to write the spring report, while in the summer, Stephen Coffin was asked to attend, which he did. Nathaniel Starbuck had been on hand for Yearly Meeting in 1715, and repeated the performance in 1716 - but missed 1717, when disownment proceedings against Stephen Hussey were afoot. In the autumn of 1715 John Coleman and Barnabas Starbuck were asked to go to Quarterly Meeting, but only the former made it. However, in 1716, Barnabas wrote the three regular reports. In 1717 the spring and summer reports were given to Jethro to write with the help of Stephen Coffin in the summer. Jethro was asked to attend the summer Meeting, but apparently the Hussey case prevented. In the autumn John Coleman was on hand. In other words the men's Clerk handed over Quarterly Meeting attendance to the head of the Meeting, his fellow male minister, and two brothers. It was at this time (1716) that Nathaniel Starbuck bought the recorders book to list births, marriages and deaths, alphabetically by families - and to begin his list of visiting Friends. Matters at Quarterly Meeting were quiet, only in 1717 the Nantucket stand on slavery found surprisingly enough substantial support from the superior Meeting. It could perhaps hardly do otherwise. The brutal inexplicable murder of a slave at the hands of a woman Friend in Dartmouth in 1711 had moved general Quaker opinion far toward an anti-slavery stand.

Benjamin Holme managed to visit both late in 1715 and early in 1716. The second time he arrived with William Barker of the

Yearly Meeting Committee, and Thomas Pierce, member of Perquimons Monthly Meeting, the first North Carolina Quaker to get to the Island. "Yearly Meeting" on Nantucket in 1716 was attended by the same William Baldwin from England who had been present seven years before. It was clearly possible for him to note how the Meeting had grown from the Parliament House to a Meetinghouse nearly twice as large. Baldwin had now emigrated to Pennsylvania where he was a member of Buckingham Particular and Falls Monthly Meeting of Friends (later Middletown M.M.). With him was Peter Fearon, similarly emigrated, but to Burlington New Jersey. He was a sea captain particularly concerned for Quakerism in the West Indies - where slavery played a vital economic role and was also opposed to alcoholic beverages! His companion was Abraham Booth, a Friend of Scituate Meeting, Mass. (part of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting). Four women Friends were on hand for the opening of the enlarged Meetinghouse. One was Rose (Austin) Tibbets, the Clerk' cousin from Dover N.H. Her companion was a Lydia Norton of Hampton, Mass. Also Mary (Holder) Slocumb wife of Capt. Peleg of Dartmouth. She was as has been indicated, a niece of ~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ Anne Hutchinson, the famous founder of Newport and first cousin of Mary Dyer, who had been hanged on Boston Common in 1659. ~~XXXX~~ She had been on the Island in 1701. Then there was Elizabeth Whartnaby, another British emigrant who settled in Philadelphia. She had already travelled extensively in Europe and the West Indies. Finally there was Christopher Blackburn, a Philadelphia tailor, who visited the Island partly in the interests of that trade.

While this notable company visited the Island, work was going on apace on a new town house 34'x 24', which had been voted four months before, and was occupied the following winter. All public notices were posted there and on the door of the Quaker Meetinghouse. This building still stands - at Polpis -

used as a barn. Originally a town house had been built in 1675, but had been soon transformed into a school. Now the need of a new school was all the greater especially since the school teacher had vanished and apparently the 1675 building gone down into ruin, and Eleazer Folger Jr. was willing to open a school. His salary was then fixed at £60 yearly. There was no indication that Friends might object to a non-Quaker schoolmaster. Another impressive change was the decision in the autumn of 1716 to separate town meetings from Proprietors' meetings. This freed the town from Hussey's "janglings", and kept the lesser sort from hearing what the propertied element was planning. In 1713 Massachusetts had defined the local status of land proprietaries (Nantucket's dating from 1687). Confirmation of Nantucket's had come in 1694. The Nantucket body was unique, being a quit-rent patroonship based on sheep-raising: and free of church control. On the Island as elsewhere it was concerned with building roads, wharfs, mills and with regulating water rights. This meant power, and when combined with sheep commons meant indirect control of the Nantucket economy - by the Society of Friends.

In 1717 all land holdings were re-surveyed under the chairmanship of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. Eliezer Folger, the school teacher, actually did the work, serving on the committee were Thomas Macy, Batchelor Hussey and George Hussey. All Monomoy was opened to settlement, which probably averted any revolutionary upheaval till 1775, when war conditions encouraged radical change.

The visitors also could view evidence of expansion in the whaling industry. Four vessells had been acquired since 1711 making a total of six ocean going whalers which in the 1715 season produced 660 barrells of sperm oil, and 11,000 lbs. of bone; thereby netting £1,100 profit. Two of the new ships

read in the Men's Meeting that summer; ~~From Philadelphia a Welsh Quaker~~ with James Graham, likewise English, as companion (Graham was destined to die in that year and his body buried in the burial ground at Burlington, N.J.). From Philadelphia a Welsh Quaker called John Cadwallader appeared, a minister of Abington Monthly Meeting, who reached every extant Quaker Meeting before his death on Tortola in 1742. Cadwallader was the founder of Horsham Meeting.- and with him came John Smith then Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Smith married Hannah Logan the Governor's daughter, and still lives on as the hero in Hannah Logan's Courtship. He is not so widely remembered as introducing street lighting in Philadelphia, the first city in America to be so favored. Smith founded London Grove Meeting, and was a son-in-law of Caleb Pusey the first Pennsylvanian Friend. A sister-in-law was the Ruth Smith of Dartmouth, who had come to Nantucket in 1709. Finally Richard Estes of Lynn (Salem M.M.) appeared to complete the list - one of his sons would marry a Nantucket girl before long.

In glancing back over the visitors during the first ten years of Nantucket M.M.'s existence, it is clear that Newport only slowly relaxed the oversight which had characterized the 1698-1708 period. Sixteen members of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting visited in contrast to thirteen in the earlier period - making a total of 25 visits. Jacob Mott Sr., Jacob Mott Jr., and William Barker (kin of Gov. Easton) each made three visits. Governors Easton and Wanton each came once. Nine came from Dartmouth which was the main port of embarkation to the Island. Peleg Slocumb managed three trips in this grouping. The fact of the matter was that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent a group of Quaker luminaries to inspect Nantucket - a notable collection of 12 Friends, eclipsing New England interest in the Island by their sheer weight (spiritual and otherwise).

None of these visitors was on hand for the funeral Meeting of the Great Mary. As 1717 drew to its end her remains were laid to rest in the acre which ~~xixxx~~ now lies to the west of the Elihu Coleman residence, the only house still standing as it did when Sherburne had no other religious organization than the Society of Friends. The grave is unmarked as are all the others - deserted on a wind-swept moor. Mary's epitaph is supplied by Benjamin Holme's Journal in which he wrote "a good instrument on the Island of Nantucket where she lived". Her house has migrated to Pine Street near the Baptist Church - which represents the faith she went from. The house in which the Monthly Meeting was founded, that of the men's Clerk likewise has migrated, and faces east at the Civil War Monument on Upper Main Street- probably prophetically, for during the Civil War petroleum was discovered, and the whaling industry was condemned to extinction in consequence. Mary Starbuck died the day after her dranddaughter Elizabeth wed George Hussey, one-time Harvard law student.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER X

TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILIES II

THE JOHN MACYS

1713

The most impressive additions to Nantucket Monthly Meeting in its first five years was the family of the late John Macy, 1655-1691, and Deborah (Gardner) Macy, 1658-1696; he being the only son of the man who first thought up the Nantucket settlement; Thomas Macy, 1608-1682, and she a daughter of the first New England Quakeress, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, 1632-1724. Their grandmother was a living reminder of their heritage. But in point of fact the tradition of their grandfather, a lay reader in the Baptist Church, was probably as potent. During the troubles of the 1670s both progenitors had affiliated with the anti-Proprietary party. They were marked liberals associated with the John Gardners, despite Sarah's Quakerism. Naturally they regarded the Starbuck - Coffin combine with suspicion, and it was only in 1711 after the first Meetinghouse was built, and after a marriage linked them with the Starbucks, that they threw in their lot both with the Meeting and as an essential element in developing the shore industries and wharfs required for deep-sea whaling.

There were eight orphans, in all comprising the third generation of their name on Nantucket - running parallel to

Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and his brothers and sisters. The head of the house was John Macy Jr., 1675-1751, with Jethro Starbuck considered to be the principal elders in the Meeting. He had married in 1707, a cousin Judith (Worth) Macy, 1689-1767, daughter of the founder of that family who had wed his aunt, Sarah (Macy) Worth, 1646-1701. Judith was similarly an elder, as might be expected. The second orphan was Sarah (Macy) Barnard, 1677-1748, who had wed John Barnard, 1670-1745, as long before as 1697. Three of John's brothers embraced Quakerism, but he stayed out of Meeting, despite Sarah's involvement as an elder. The third orphan was Deborah (Macy) Russell, 1679-1742, who wed Daniel Russell, 1675-1766, in 1708 (out of Meeting). Daniel was the first of his name on Nantucket, an immigrant from Dartmouth (Mass.). He too remained cold to the Society of Friends, though some of his family on the mainland were members.

The fourth orphan was Bethiah (Macy) Coffin - Renouff, 1683-1738, who first wed Joseph Coffin, 1671-1719, non-Quaker son of magistrate James in 1714, and then in 1725 John Renouff, 1680-1746, a newcomer to the Island, likewise non-Quaker. Neither Deborah nor Bethiah were very active in Meeting. The fifth orphan was Jabez Macy, 1683-1776, overseer, not as active in civic affairs as John but still highly respected. His marriage to Sarah (Starbuck) Macy, 1617-1789, Jethro' daughter in 1711 forged the link which brought the Macys into the Society of Friends. Ironically he was disowned in 1760; technically for disrespect to Elihu Coleman; but probably for threatening the dominance of the family into which he wed. The sixth orphan Mary (Macy) Coleman, 1685-1715, was the first to marry in the old Meetinghouse, also in 1711. Her marriage to Capt. Soloman Coleman. brother of the head of the Men's Meeting, was only of four year's duration, for she apparently was frail.

The seventh favored orphan was Thomas Macy, 1687-1759, long treasurer of the town, of the Meeting for some years, overseer and frequently Selectman. Neither he nor his younger brother were married in Meeting (in fact only Jabez and Mary, of the eight, were so wed). Thomas chose Deborah (Coffin) Macy, 1681-1760, daughter of Major John of the Vineyard in 1706. Finally the eighth orphan was Richard Macy, 1689-1779, elder, wharf-builder, who wed Deborah (Pinkham) Macy, 1694-1767, in 1711, just before the family affiliated with Friends. There were four Macy brothers to leave descendants in the Meeting (as compared to two Starbuck brothers). At least the two families had in common the fact that all the third generation males were Quakers. The Macys were not preachers like the Starbucks but Elders or Overseers.

There were also two aunts to be accounted for. One, Bethiah (Macy) Gardner, 1650-1732, widow of Joseph Gardner, 1652-1701,(her cousin). Three of her daughters were Friends, though she did not elect to join. The other aunt, Mary (Macy) Bunker, 1648-1729, married William Bunker, 1650-1712, first of that name on the Island. They stayed out of Meeting, though half of their ten children became active Friends. A third aunt, Sarah Worth, to whom attention has already been drawn, died before the Meeting began. Her widower William Worth, 1640-1724, remarried, and as his second wife was a strong Puritan, he was not drawn towards the Meeting. The eight orphans thus had two non-Quaker aunts and two non-Quaker uncles (blood tie or in-law) to counteract their grandmothers Quakerism.

John and Judith had ten children who grew up: Jabez and Sarah had nine; Thomas and Deborah had twelve; and Richard and Deborah had eleven - a total of 42 - more than double the Starbuck children in the same generation. It remains here to follow out their careers and involvement in the Meeting. The

task is large, but as not all married, not as large as feared at first glance.

John's family comes first. Miriam (Macy) Coffin, 1708-1736, wed Zephaniah Coffin, heir of Stephen Jr., whaling magnate, in 1725. To them were born four children before she died - Zephaniah married again. Seth Macy, 1710-1790, never married. After his mother's death in 1767 he made his home with his third sister, whose account comes below. Seth was a whaler in his active years. Next was David Macy 1714- ? , who married Dinah (Gardner) Macy, 1715- ? , daughter of Soloman, (non-Friend) great-granddaughter of Sarah Shattuck. They emigrated to North Carolina (New Garden Meeting) just before the Revolutionary War. They were married in 1739 and had eight children. After David came Anna (Macy) Jenkins, 1717-1756, who wed minister Joseph Jenkins, 1713-1805, son of Matthew the immigrant, in 1735. To them were born but three children before her death and his remarriage. Originally they lived in Edgartown where Joseph represented Nantucket whaling interests. John Macy (third), 1721- ? , followed, also a weighty elder, and organizer of the emigration to North Carolina. He married Eunice (Coleman) Macy, 1724-1768, daughter of minister Elihu. They had twelve children. Their marriage took place in 1743, Judith (Macy) Clasby, 1723-1795, (with whom Seth lived his later years) married William Clasby Jr., 1723-1793, in 1753, as his second wife. They were childless. William's father was the first of his name on on Nantucket. Jonathan Macy, 1725-1798, an overseer, was next. He married Lois (Gorham) Macy, (1727-1805, in 1747, daughter of Stephen of Yarmouth Meeting on the Cape. Apparently they went to live on the Bass River for some years. William Macy, 1727-1753, the next, wed Mary (Barney) Macy, 1728-1777, daughter of Benjamin and Lydia (Starbuck) Barney. The year they set up a household was 1746 and had three children before his

early death. Sarah (Macy) Gardner, 1729- , was married to Richard Gardner (brother of Dinah Macy), in 1746 as well. They apparently emigrated directly afterwards. Finally there was Abigail Macy, 1731-1763, who pre-deceased her mother. Thus as far as the John Macys were concerned (of their ten children), two emigrated upon marriage, two remained unmarried, the other six produced 26 grandchildren. In fact one of these six were childless and two others eventually emigrated with at least some of their younger children. The marriage range runs from 1725 to 1753 - not unusual in Nantucket families, but considerably later in the century than their Starbuck peers. But the configuration spells a later generation in substance.

In turning to Jabez and Sarah's family we find their eldest, George Macy, 1720-1742, was drowned at sea. The second, Eunice (Macy) Beard, 1721- , married Richard Beard, 1721- , an Englishman, had five children and emigrated with them to North Carolina. Their marriage took place in 1743. Dorcas Macy, 1724-1768, never married. Jethro Macy, 1728- , was another of the North Carolina immigrants. In 1750 he married Hephzibah (Worth) Macy, 1726- , daughter of William. They emigrated with their eight children. Daniel Macy, 1731-1768, the next son, did not live long enough to take off for southern climes. His wife Abigail (Swain) Macy, 1734- , was a daughter of Caleb, grandson of the original John. They had six children before his early death. Their marriage took place in ~~xxxxx~~ 1755. Matthew Macy, 1732- , first married Abigail (Coffin) Macy, -1758, daughter of banker Benjamin, in 1755. After a child was born Abigail died and he wed Abigail (Gardner) Macy, 1731- , daughter of Barnabas (grandson of Mary Starbuck) in turn in 1761. They emigrated to North Carolina also - going with five children (and his son by the first marriage). Lydia (Macy) Jenkins, 1734-1822, was the next, marrying Matthew Jenkins, 1734-1757, grandson of the original by

that name in 1756. They had one child before his death. Sarah Macy, 1737-1800, never married. Apparently when practically all the family emigrated - probably because of their father's disownment. Sarah stayed at home to care for her parents. She probably lived with Lydia Jenkins the last eleven years of her life. One last of Jabez' family was Jabez Macy Jr., 1739-1767. He married Rahnel (Cartwright) Macy, in 1767, and likewise had one child, before being lost at sea. There were 21 grandchildren in this branch of whom but eight it would appear stayed on the Island. Of the nine children three never married. Two died soon after marrying, and three emigrated, leaving one soon widowed. What a contrast to the solid Nantucket phalanx presented by the Jethro Starbuck crowd, of whom Sarah Macy was of course a sibling! Marriages in this family ran from 1743 to 1767.

The third Macy family that of Thomas and Deborah, begins with Joseph Macy, 1709-1772, who apparently married under the care of a mainland Meeting, one Hannah (Hobbs) Macy, 1710- ? , in 1727. To them were born seven children. The second, Robert Macy, 1710-1771, chose Abigail (Barnard) Macy, 1714- , in 1731, daughter of Benjamin. They had no less than thirteen children. The third Love (Macy) Rotch, 1713-1767, married one of the greatest Nantucketers of the 18th century, Joseph Rotch, 1704-1784, in 1733. They had but three children, two of whom rose to international fame. The fourth was Francis Macy, 1715-1793, whose wife was Judith (Coffin) Macy, 1719-1799. They wed in 1738 and had ten children. Judith Macy who was a prominent elder, was daughter to Richard, a grandson of magistrate James. The fifth was Nathaniel Macy, 1715-1783, united to Abigail (Pinkham) Macy, 1722-1810 in 1741, adding another eight children to this burgeoning family. The sixth Lydia (Macy) Coleman, 1720-1785, was the second wife of Jethro Coleman, 1706-1785, elder,

son of the original head of the Men's Meeting; they married in 1748 and they had six children. Elizabeth (Macy) Barnard, 1722-1765, was the seventh favored child marrying Francis Barnard, 1718-1800, brother of Abigail, Robert's wife (married 1741). They had at least nine children. Deborah (Macy) Coffin, 1726- ? , the eighth child, chose Benjamin Coffin, 1705-1778, the banker for whom she became his second sife, in 1762. They had three children. Anna (Macy) Worth, 1730-1789, the penultimate of the family, married Richard Worth Jr., 1730-1815, in 1753. They had but two children. Finally, Hephzibah (Macy) Davis, 1734- ? , wed Thomas Davis, 1731- ? , son of the first of this name. They had five children, and eventually emigrated; their marriage year was 1752. There were thus at least 66 grandchildren in this branch, exceeding the total of the two preceeding branches. Also it would appear that most of them elected to remain on the Island.

Finally there are the progeny of Richard and Deborah to consider. Zaccheus Macy, 1713-1797, was the first historian on the Island- living with the tangled skein of family relationships which are obviously so difficult to delineate. He married Hephzibah (Gardner) Macy, 1718-1795, daughter of Samuel in 1734. They had nine children. Next came Abraham Macy, 1715-1746, who married Anna (Worth) Macy, 1721-1797, daughter of Joseph, in 1738. They had but four children, when as mate of Joseph Rotsh's ship, he was lost in the Bay of Biscay. A daughter, Mary (Macy) Marshall, 1717-1764, followed, chosing Benjamin Marshall, 1706-1793, son of the second Clerk of the Meeting, a widower, in 1749. They had six children, before her early death. Caleb Macy, 1719-1798, was the fourth, marrying a widow Judith (Folger) Gardner, 1728-1819, daughter of Daniel in 1749. They had nine children. Then came three daughters. First, there was Judith (Macy) Bunker, 1721-1799, who wed Jonathan

Bunker, 1709-1788, son of Peleg, in 1742. They had eight children. Ruth (Macy) Starbuck, 1723-1760, followed, marrying Joseph Starbuck, 1723-1760, son of Paul, in 1744. They had three children, left orphans. The third in this group Priscilla Macy, 1729-1746, died when only 17 years old. Two brothers followed; Benjamin Macy, 1731-1794, who broke the family tradition by marrying in 1760 out-of-Meeting, Abigail (Brown) Macy, 1730- , and emigrating to the West Indies. Silvanus Macy, 1734-1755, was lost at sea. Marriages in this family ran from 1734 to 1760. There were 40 grandchildren in this branch of the family; making a grand total for the four branches of at least 153. When to this are added their parents and grandparents (including the four in-law grandmothers) the full gross total runs to 203, not far off double the Nathaniel Starbuck family cited as the 1708 family. The John Macy family was obviously vital to the success of Nantucket Quakerism, running as it did to about a sixth of the membership - at least till the New Garden migration got things down a good bit.

Twenty-four men Friends served on committees of enquiry for the Macy men, while twenty-six women served their brides. Benjamin Barney, the one-time Newport tailor, was the most active, advising nine times. Three women were particularly named - Hannah Bunker , seven times, while Leah Paddack and Judith Barnard each had six (as did Richard Mitchell for the men). The following Macys were involved: John Macy Jr., Jabez Macy and Judith Macy - few, in the light of the importance of the family. Of the 31 in the third generation who married only two chose off-Island partners.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 11.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING IN 1718

MENS MEETING

The tenth anniversary of the establishment of Nantucket Monthly Meeting was also the twentieth anniversary of the arrival of the first "publick" Friends. It is a good moment to notice the adult membership in full, and to trace trends in the lives of the more active Friends. Samuel Coffin, now aged 38, had been joined by his twin brother, Tristram Coffin, who had married a sister of Jabez Bunker, four years before, probably in Edgartown, where they made their home. Tristram was credited with introducing whaling into the shire town on Martha's Vineyard. He apparently joined Meeting in 1718, the year their mother died. As for Samuel, he had served Sherburne town at least once as Constable in 1711. Their uncle, Stephen Coffin Sr., aged 71, had very much retired from business and official life. But his son, minister, Stephen Coffin Jr., aged 43, was the presiding officer in town meeting (for which Nathaniel Starbuck was clerk). As early as 1702 when aged 28, he had been put in charge of fencing the common land. In 1705 Stephen became Constable, and in 1707 "inherited" his father's "place" as Selectman. That year he was asked to collect all stray Indian cattle. This was possible because a list of brands ~~were~~ was kept by the Proprietary. In 1708 Stephen was put in charge of swine, along with the Men's Clerk. From 1711 onwards Stephen was the chief assessor of taxes.

Then in 1716 he was authorized to set up a "pound" for hogs at his house at Monomoy for the east half of the Island. Stephen also kept a public house. In this he was almost unique. Two of Stephen's sons were accounted members; Shubael Coffin, aged 24, his close business associate, and Zephaniah Coffin, aged 19, keeping company with a daughter of John Macy, by whom he was employed. There were six Coffins in the Men's Meeting, double the 1708 figure.

The center of Meeting life was, however, in the Starbuck, rather than the Coffin family. Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., aged 82, was in failing health, suffering from the series of strokes which would carry him off. His son, Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., aged 50, was on the other hand at the height of his powers. A wiry little man, he breathed energy. Inheriting concern for the Indians, he financed the upkeep of two Indian chapels which were constructed twenty years before. In 1717 with the late John Swain, he had overseen Indian planting, lest natural laziness prevail among the indigenous population, which preferred the excitement of chasing after whales to raising food ("women's work"). In fact from 1717 on the Indians "kept the beach", that is, manned three look-outs for whales; under the supervision of the town. Nathaniel was usually charged with "laying out" lands from the Proprietary to be sold at fee simple, to whites or Indians - whom it must be recalled made up half the population in 1700 - probably about 40% in 1718. As clerk of town and Proprietary, minister and Meeting Clerk, active in Yearly Meeting affairs in Newport, manager of the whaling industry and Indian affairs, Nathaniel Starbuck was the most prominent Nantucketer. His son Paul Starbuck, aged 22, trained as a window setter, the traditional Starbuck skill, was accounted a member.

Then there was Jethro Starbuck, aged 47, one of the Quarterly

Meeting Friends, elder, captain of a whaling vessell, perhaps the architype of Melvill's mate, "Starbuck". He was one of nine Quaker jurymen as late as 1713, when as a result of Hussey's contentions, most Quakers gave up that service. In 1701 he had been Constable, in 1702 in charge of checking herds on the moors. In 1704 he became a Selectman, working closely with his cousin, Stephen Coffin Jr. Often he helped Nathaniel with Indian planting supervision, and helped keep close check on Indian lands. In fact so tight was his grip that complaints got to Boston, and investigations were held. Some of the Puritan establishment wanted to use this complaint as an excuse to attach Nantucket to Suffolk (Boston) County, to better master the nest of heretics. But the Nantucket Puritan minority which ran Nantucket County Courthouse were much opposed th this. Jethro's son William Starbuck, aged 19, was a promising Quaker, beginning to speak in Meetings for Worship, a whaler. Then there was Barnabas Starbuck, aged 45, unmarried, the treasurer of the Meeting, living with his aged father, and handling their shop. His Quarterly Meeting connections in Newport would lead him soon to settle there as administrator of the Starbuck warehouse in that town. Thus there were six Starbucks rather than four - not as great an increase as the Coffins showed.

Sitting head of the Meeting for Worship - "to time it" - was John Coleman Jr., also a Quarterly Meeting Friend, elder and active in town affairs. He was now 51 years of age. A juryman, collector of stray cattle, he helped lay out the south shore lots in 1717, and supervised Indian planting on occasion. Two of his sons were among the active younger Friends: Nathaniel Coleman, aged 21, a whaler; and Elihu Coleman, aged 19, associated with his father in sheep raising. Both were destined to become ministers, taking after their gifted sensitive mother. Their uncle, Soloman Coleman, aged 33, associate of Capt. Gardner in the

coastal trade, was mourning the loss of his Macy wife, three years before, and about to marry a Quakeress from the north shore. There were four Colemans as compared to one before.

John Folger, farmer, aged 59, was retiring from active life. Three of his sons had joined him in Meeting. Jethro Folger, aged 29, the eldest, was an overseer as was his father - i.e., active in practical responsibilities for the Meeting - a whaler. Jonathan Folger, aged 22, followed the traditional Folger metier of blacksmith. The third son, Shubael Folger, aged 18, was paying attention to a girl named Clark, of proud Mayflower ancestry. He was an apprentice in whale boat equipping. A fourth son was about to marry a girl from Chilmark and Vineyard Haven on Martha's Vineyard - but of the Chase family who had originally lived on Nantucket, but was as yet little touched by Quakerism. The Folgers had doubled.

Only one Swain appears, as was the number before. He was William Swain, aged 23, unstable cousin of the three Folger brothers, probably employed at one of the local rope walks - that is rope making - sail making establishments on the waterfront, where it was possible to be a crony to an Indian, or a free Negro, and later to a south sea islander; types immortalized by Moby Dick.

Shubael Gorham, aged 44, whale boat outfitter, played little part in Meeting or town affairs. Probably he suffered from being both a third generation Friend (from Cape Cod) and from being essentially an outsider. Similarly Stephen Gorham, aged 33, who was his associate. No others of their name appear.

Bachelor Hussey, now 38, was handing over his father's farming interests to George Hussey, aged 22, while the elder brother opened a cordwaining establishment (similar to a rope-walk). In 1711 he had served the town as Constable and in 1718 became a Selectman. His service as a juror dated back to at

least 1707. The number of Husseys like the Gorhams remained constant. Bachelor, it might be added, was an overseer in the Meeting. The disownment of his father seems to have had no effect on this solid citizen.

Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner, aged 30, as he was now known, had just lost his Coffin wife, and would remarry before long into a non-Quaker branch of that family, thus in effect was about to fall away from active participation in the Meeting. In a later stricter age he would have been disowned for "marrying out". Two of his brothers were sonsidered to be Quakers. These were Nathaniel Gardner Jr., and Andrew Gardner, aged 21 and 19 respectively. They were both seamen - probably living with Capt. Ebeneezer, as of course they were orphans. There were also their cousins: Samuel Gardner, aged 26; Jethro Gardner, aged 25; Barnabas Gardner, aged 23; and Jonathan Gardner, aged 22. The latter two were unmarried living with the original Quakeress, their grandmother. Samuel and Jethro were whalers, while Barnabas and Jonathan were ordinary seamen. Samuel Gardner served as Constable in 1711, while Captain Ebenezezer became a Selectman in 1717. Thus the Gardners had increased from two to seven, so that this family topped the Coffins and Starbucks in numbers.

Capt. Jabez Bunker, aged 40, as he too had become, was an overseer, and civicly speaking, responsible. A juror, he became Constable in 1714 and pound keeper the next year. His brother Benjamin Bunker, now aged 35, had married the Paddack girl in Yarmouth in 1709, and had set up his home in Nantucket. He was, it will be recalled, a whaler. This family had not expanded. Nathaniel Paddack, aged 33, was the sole figure, as a decade before, with that name. He was a whaling outfitter.

Matthew Jenkins, aged 27, was the last of the original men cited. He was a juryman a decade before, and again in 1718, but otherwise unnoticed in town affairs. Matthew was now an officer

on a whaling craft. Naturally he was the sole bearer of this name. There were 36 male members carrying the original names; nearly double the original list.

It would seem that the "plague" struck the Barnard family. Nathaniel Barnard Jr., aged 48, and both his parents died within weeks of each other. The son had been a Quaker nine years. Given to jury service, in 1715, he was elected town surveyor. Having lost two wives, he now left his third wife a double widow, and five small children - one an orphan. The court allowed his three year old son to choose a non-Quaker uncle for guardian, but reserved the right to choose for the one year old! A double estate had to be settled. Ebeneezer Barnard, aged 22, a brother of Nathaniel Jr., received a half share (right to) of his father's house, which was to be shared with John, a much older non-Quaker. They were his executors. Curiously most of his personal effects went to Ebeneezer. It was a substantial estate, though it would appear that the senior Nathaniel was unbelievably illiterate - or else probably paralysed. He was 78 years of age, while his wife was 73. Naturally the son died intestate. Nathaniel Barnard Jr. was the second Friend to marry under the care of the Meeting. Capt. Silvanus Hussey and John Macy were asked to evaluate the estate (£249.19s.10d.) which went to his wife. There were 142 sheep, 4 oxen, a large quantity of fencing materials and a good many debts owed by Indians. Only a minor part of this was inherited from his father. Another brother of Nathaniel Jr., Benjamin Barnard, aged 37, was a member. As officer on Gardner's sloop he was well placed. There were also two children of John, that is, a niece and a nephew of the two Barnard brothers, who were old enough to be members of Business Meeting. Robert Barnard, aged 16, later to be a most responsible elder was the "man" in point. There were thus three of this name.

The Macys naturally formed an important element. John Macy, aged 43, was an elder, and a carpenter in daily life; Jabez Macy, aged 36, was his associate. Thomas Macy, aged 34, was an overseer, a juryman and wharf builder. Finally Richard Macy, aged 32, was associated with Thomas. He also was an overseer. There were thus four of this name.

Of the Marshall name there was only one. He was Joseph Marshall, aged 46, a widower, whose name appears in civic affairs only as a juror. Another new name was that of Pinkham. Shubael Pinkham, aged 27, had married a sister of Jabez Bunker in 1712, out of Meeting, but became active in 1716 at the death of her father. He was a whaler. And finally there was Thomas Clark, aged 53, a weaver of Plymouth origins, who became a member about 1717. It was evident that the occasional individual was now attracted to a going concern. Thus another ten names were added producing a men's membership of 47 as compared to 22 ten years before. Probably a dozen men attended regularly at the start - now double that number.

## WOMEN'S MEETING

The Women's Meeting made nearly parallel progress, with a larger average attendance - due largely to the fact that the women did not go whaling. Again in following the pattern of the 1708 chapter, we find that the original Quakeress was still there. Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner was then aged 87 and very probably to be found each First Day and Fifth Day in the Ministers' and Elders' Gallery - grandmother to half the white people on the Island. It will be recalled in 1708 she had five Quaker granddaughters. These were all alive and active: Sarah Paddack, of course, lived on the Cape; Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, aged 27; Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, aged 32; Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, aged 33; and Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, aged 32, were the others.

Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 41, was still another, had been brought in by the Macy influx, as was Judith (Worth) Macy, aged 29. Two more of minister Nathaniel's orphans were Judith (Gardner) Barnard, aged 25, and Margaret (Gardner) Folger, aged 23. Eight granddaughters rather than four made up the list.

Sarah Varney (as she had become) was still alive in New Hampshire, as were her two daughters: Deborah (Austin) Coffin, aged 66, and Mary (Austin) Gardner, aged 63 (inactive). Granddaughters were but two; Deborah (Coffin) Macy, aged 33, and Miriam Coffin, cited above as granddaughter to Sarah Gardner. This family did not increase its membership in the Women's Meeting. At the end of 1718 Deborah (Austin) Coffin died, leaving her mother, at least two sisters, four sons, four daughters, fifteen grandsons and fourteen granddaughters, a total of 38.

The Women's Clerk Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, aged 43, had one sister in Meeting, Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, aged 45. Dorcas had two Quaker daughters; Sarah (Starbuck) Macy, aged 21 and Eunice Starbuck, aged 17; Damaris had none. This family thus doubled. Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, the Men's Clerk's wife, was aged 42. One of her sisters, Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker, aged 37, was also a member. As for daughters, Dinah alone had four: Mary (Starbuck) Folger, aged 26; Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, aged 22; Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, aged 20; and Hephzibah Starbuck, aged 18. This last daughter was just beginning to "appear in the ministry". This family had thus doubled its number.

Minister Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, aged 42, had of course, a sister, Hephzibah Hathaway, a minister of Dartmouth Meeting and can be thought of as replacing her mother, the Great Mary. The head of the Meeting, Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard, aged 43, was still there, ~~within~~, in addition one daughter, Keziah

(Folger) Gardner, aged 19, doubling this family. Then there was her sister-in-law, Experience (Look) Coffin, aged 43. One last Coffin was the orphan, Eunice (Coffin) Gardner, aged 25 - due to die during this year of 1718 (thus should not be counted). She left four children, and an unmarried sister as well as one non-Quaker brother on the Island. Hers was the first Quaker wedding on Nantucket. Dorcas Starbuck and Priscilla Coffin must have noted her passing with especial concern as they had served on the marriage committee. Eunice Gardner was also survived by her grandfather, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. Eunice's older sister, Abigail Fitch, was probably a Quaker in Boston.

The Bunker family not only included Ann (Bunker) Paddack, aged 33, and Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, aged 29, but Mary (Bunker) Coffin, aged 30, of Edgartown, - an increase of one. The Pinkhams had one additional figure to add, Deborah (Pinkham) Macy, aged 24.

The Husseys contributed Puella (Hussey) Gorham, aged 51, and Theodate Hussey, aged 18, a new member. There was also the sister-in-law, Abigail (Hall) Hussey, aged 38, Bethiah Folger, aged 26, and her sister, Abigail Folger, aged 15, were the females of that family, both unmarried (the latter was new). Before the year was out Bethiah would marry Samuel Barker, aged 55, a widower farmer living at Woods Hole, an attender of Falmouth Meeting - but upon marrying Bethiah would transfer his membership to Nantucket. His first wife had belonged to the famous Wing family of Sandwich. He, in turn, was nephew of William Barker, Quaker visitor to Nantucket in 1708, 1711 and 1715.

Anna ( ? ) Trott, aged 63, and her daughter, Mary Trott, aged 28, were members, as well as anna's sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, aged 58. Sarah (Skiff) Long, aged 46, replaced the disowned daughter of Anna Trott. Another daughter of Anna's, Abigail Trott, aged 25, had also come into the Meeting

probably about 1711.

The Swain representative was Patience (Swain) Gardner, aged 35, a new member since 1708. Mary (Church) Clark, aged 40, was a new member as well. The Barnards produced Jemima Barnard, aged 19, great-granddaughter of Sarah Gardner through her Quaker mother. The Gorhams produced Abigail (Gorham) Lovell, who as Puella's daughter attended Women's Meeting rebelliously for a year of so before "marrying out" in 1716. In 1718 she was aged 19. There was also a Mary Rogers, aged 38, spinster cousin of the Barnards.

We then turn to the Macy family where Judith (Worth) Macy, aged 29, held an important place, and as well her sister-in-law Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 41. Sarah had one daughter Jemima Barnard, in the Meeting, as above noted.

In looking over the women's list we come to a total of 47 in contrast to 27 - their attendance grew from one score to two score - about once again by half larger than the men's business Meeting in practice. There were only five elderly people in a Meeting of 92 adult members. Children must have numbered 150 by this time. In other words in ten years the Meeting had more than doubled. There were eighth elderly members in 1708. The Meeting had grown younger.

The following Friends had been laid away in the acre now to be found to the west of the Coleman-Frost dwelling: that is during the first decade:

Mary,(Coffin) Starbuck, 1645-1717, minister, founder, Friend 1702.
John Swain, 1633-1715, first resident Friend 1658, minister.
Mary (Macy) Coleman, 1685-1715, first burial, Friend 1711.

Outside this lot were:

Nathaniel Gardner, 1669-1714, minister, Friend 1708.
John Coffin, 1647-1711, (Edgartown) Friend 1708.
Stephen Hussey, 1630-1718, elder, Friend 1672-1717.

Disowned and/or removed:

Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney, 1632-1720, minister, left.

Tabotha (Trott) Frost-Brown, 1679-1749, disowned, left, Friend 1706-1713.

Passed away during the tenth year and buried in graveyard:

Nathaniel Barnard Jr., 1672-1718, Friend 1709.

Eunice (Coffin) Gardner, 1693-1718, Friend 1708.

Deborah (Austin) Coffin, 1652-1718, Friend 1704.

Thus eleven Friends had disappeared an average of one per year, while growth ran 3⅓ per year.

At the turn of the century there were 300 white Nantucketers, grown to 721 by 1718, when the first official census was taken - thus about one third of the Island had become Quaker ten years after the founding of the Meeting.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 12.

TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILIES III AND IV

THE STEPHEN HUSSEYS

1718

The first Nantucket Quaker to come through to us as a fully human figure, was the only Nantucketer who had met the Quaker founder (on Bardadoes) and then ended an active lawyer's career as a Quaker outcast. Stephen Hussey, 1630-1718, was a second generation Nantucketer, the third Quaker on the Island, where he appeared a dozen years after the founding of the Nantucket settlement - but as representative of his father, Christopher Hussey, 1600-1670 (a full share proprietor, who never settled on the Island). Stephen was thus peer to Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck, and to John Macy Sr. His role in the revolution of the 1670s was on the whole to favor the establishment - which a generation later was to become the target of his unceasing attacks. Stephen was already middle aged when he married Martha (Bunker) Hussey, 1656-1744, who was anything but cordial to Quakerism - and who survived him by a quarter century. They had seven children all of whom became Quakers - but not conventional members.

Their eldest daughter, Puella (Hussey) Gorham, 1677-1765, married Shubael Gorham, 1675-1760, a Quaker of Bass River on Cape Cod in 1695, probably in the Yarmouth Meetinghouse. They moved to Nantucket about the time Nantucket Meeting began, but then returned to the Cape in a dozen years or so. They had seven Quaker children, some of whom returned to the Island in

a Quaker orbit. The second daughter, Abigail (Hussey) Howes, 1679-1763, (later Marshall) was married in 1700, also in Yarmouth, to Thomas Howes Jr., 1675-1700, scion of a well-to-do pilgrim family, some of whose family were Quakers. He was drowned on their honeymoon, leaving her pregnant. With her inheritance Abigail built a mansion and cut a scandalously fashionable figure on the Island, till in 1712 she wed Joseph Marshall, 1672-1748, an enterprising merchant then a widower, who had come down from Boston two decades earlier. They affiliated with the Meeting - had one son- and eventually then she died, leaving her second husband (and second son) to become in turn Clerks of Nantucket Meeting.

The third child, a son, Capt. Silvanus Hussey, 1685-1767, was the first Nantucketer to catch a spermacuti whale in 1712, and served as originator and coordinator of the early whaling fleet. He also built the first and the second (great) Meetinghouse of the Society of Friends on the Island. In 1712 he had married Abial (Brown) Hussey, 1692-1722, out of Meeting. She bore him at least three children - sons - before her early death. These were: Daniel Hussey, 1713-1750; Jonathan Hussey, 1718 - ; and Seth Hussey, 1722-1756, all Quakers. Daniel married Sarah (Gorham) Hussey, 1711-1748, niece of Shubael of the Cape in 1735, on the Cape, and had five children. Jonathan married Hephzibah (Starbuck) Huasey, 1721 - , daughter of Paul in 1739, and emigrated to Coresound M.M., North Carolina, while Seth wed Sarah (Jenkins) Hussey, daughter of Matthew in 1742 and raised four children on the Island. After the death of his first wife, Capt. Silvanus joined the Meeting by marrying minister Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, 1700-1764, daughter of Nathaniel Jr. in 1723, Silvanus himself became an elder and later Clerk. They had eight children. The eldest of these Christopher Hussey, 1724-1785, married Mary (Coffin) Hussey, daughter of non-Quaker

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Jonathan, out of Meeting in 1743 and became a nominal member. William Hussey, 1725-1805, the second, wed Abigail (Starbuck) Hussey, 1728-1817, daughter of Paul in 1746, out of Meeting, apologized and was reinstated, and had nine children. The third, Batchelor Hussey, 1728-1805, chose Anna (Coffin) Hussey, 1729-1807, daughter of Daniel, in 1748, and had nine children as well. The fourth, a daughter Hepsibeth (Hussey) Coleman, 1733-1813, married Nathaniel Coleman, 1729-1804, son of Barnabas, in 1748, and apparently had four children. The fifth, a son, Nathaniel Hussey, 1731-1769, married Judith (Coffin) Hussey, 1732-1821, in 1750, and had ten children before his early death. The sixth, Silvanus Coffin Jr., 1734-1795, married Alice (Gray) Hussey, 1735-1765, from off-Island, in 1756, and apparently had no children. The seventh, George Hussey, 1738-1804, settled on Deborah (Paddack) Hussey, 1739-1815, in 1757, and had eight children. Finally the eighth Joseph Hussey, 1740-1799, never married, but made his home with Silvanus and then George. Thus Capt. Silvanus had 11 children in all and about 50 Quaker grandchildren. They represent with some exceptions the solid Quaker Hussey element, their mother being more like her father, Nathaniel Starbuck and grandmother, Mary Starbuck, than perhaps any others in that descent.

The fourth of Stephen Hussey's brood was Batchelor Hussey, 1684-1760, who married Abigail (Hall) Hussey, 1680-1756, in 1704 on the north shore, probably under the care of Hampton M.M., where her people were Quakers. They thus became founding members of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. They had eleven children, four of whom married on Nantucket. The rest emigrated to Maine with their parents in 1737. Eight can be listed as having been members of the Nantucket Monthly Meeting. First, there was Mary (Hussey) Swain, 1706-1758, who wed Peleg Swain, 1709-1789,

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non-Quaker son of Benjamin, out of Meeting in 1730. Then followed Jedidah (Hussey) Coffin, 1708,1759, wife of Benjamin Coffin, the banker, 1705-1780, in 1726. She was the first child born of Quaker parents after the Monthly Meeting began. They had eleven children. The third was John Hussey, 1710-1749, who married Jedidah (Coffin) Hussey, 1715-1799, daughter of Joseph in 1734. They had eight children. The fourth Stephen Hussey, 1713- , (to whom his grandfather willed his law books) emigrated. The fifth Huldah (Hussey) Bunker, 1715-1798, wed Simeon Bunker, 1696-1751, in 1734, and had two children. That left three emigres: Ebeneezer Hussey, 1717- ; Paul Hussey, 1720- ; and Silvanus Hussey, 1722- . Thus this branch had more than 20 grandchildren in Nantucket Meeting, less than half the Silvanus branch. Both parents had been active elders of Nantucket Meeting.

The fifth of Stephen Hussey's children was Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, 1689-1771, who first wed Jonathan Worth, 1685-1719, a non-Quaker, in 1707. They had three children. Then she married Ebeneezer Barnard, 1684-1767, out of Meeting, in 1722, and had four more children. All but one of the seven became Friends, as did she.

The sixth of Stephen's children was his lawyer son, George Hussey, 1694-1782, whose marriage in 1717 to Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, 1698-1770, marked the disgrace of his father. They had ten children, constituting the third branch of the family. First there was Deborah (Hussey) Coffin, 1721-1785, who married Peter Coffin, 1718-1800, son of Paul, a wealthy whaling magnate in 1738. They had two children. Second there was Reuben Hussey, 1723- , who married out of Meeting in 1744, one Elizabeth (Woodbury) Hussey, 1727- , of a Boston family, to which place they removed. The third, Lydia (Hussey) Pierce, 1725- , chose Clothier Pierce Jr., 1720- , of Newport, a most

successful merchant in 1742, and then left the Island. The fourth, Dinah (Hussey) Folger, 1727-1763, married Reuben Folger, 1722-1808, son of Jonathan, in 1743. They had ten children. The fifth, Ruth (Hussey) Gardner, 1728-1827, married Nathaniel Gardner Third, in 1746. They had eight children. The sixth, Elizabeth (Hussey) Coffin, 1731- , married Peleg Coffin, 1728-1756, son of Francis in 1749, and had three children. The seventh Martha (Hussey) Swain, 1733-1799, wed David Swain, 1731-1782, son of Richard, in 1751. They had ten children. The eighth Jethro Hussey, 1738- ? , married Margaret (Coffin) Hussey, 1752- ? , in 1766 out of Meeting. She was a daughter of non-Quaker James. The ninth, Thomas Hussey, 1740-1756, was lost at sea. And the tenth Paul Hussey, 1741- ? , married Margaret (Barker) Hussey, 1747- ? , daughter of Robert in 1765. Apparently they had no childfen. In any case there were at least 33 Quaker grandchildren in this branch, bringing the grand total to at least 103 Quaker grandchildren on Nantucket of Stephen Hussey; that is, descended from his three sons. On the whole the George Hussey family inherited the worldly rather than the spiritual outlook of the Starbuck family in contrast to the Silvanus branch.

There was also a final daughter of Stephen called Theodate (Hussey) Johnson, 1700-1744, who married out of Meeting, one James Johnson in 1726. They had four children. Attention should also be called to the fact that a cousin of Stephen Hussey, Mary (Hussey) Swett, 1665-1720, lived on the Island in the pre-Meeting years with her husband, Moses Swett, 1661-1731, whom she married in 1685. They had three daughters, all Quakers (as their parents so became, on the north shore), who married on to the Island. These were the only others of Hussey descent than those of the family of Stephen. Only one of the three Swett daughters, however, became an active Quakeress on the Island.

There were at least 23 men who dealt with the Hussey men who married under the care of the Meeting and probably 19 women who gave complimentary service. William Starbuck and Paul Starbuck appeared each to have served four times, while Lydia Barney, Hannah Bunker and Ann Paddack each managed four assignments as well. No Hussey seemed to have been named at all! In checking the total complement of the family, it ran to 114, counting the wives of the three sons, smaller than the Starbucks, almost half as numerous as the Macys. Of the 24 marriages in the third generation, four were with off-Islanders.

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## THE STEPHEN COFFINS

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### 1718

Stephen Coffin, 1652-1734, youngest son of the founder, Tristram Coffin, 1604-1681, inherited the large proprietary estate of his father, largely because on Nantucket the aging parents remained with their youngest children, amounting to a kind of inverted law of primogeniture. He had four older brothers, one of whom never went to live on the Island. There were also two sisters, one who lived only briefly on the Island (as did one brother) and the other sister-being the great Mary (Coffin) Starbuck. Of the two remaining brothers, one lived on Edgartown (John Coffin) and associated with Friends at the end of his life. The other, James Coffin, was primarily a magistrate, representative in Boston, and not drawn to Friends. Nor was Stephen's wife, Mary (Bunker) Coffin, 1652-1724, interested in Meeting. Here was a similar situation to Stephen Hussey's wife, who was in fact Mary Coffin's sister (daughters of the late George Bunker, who had once owned and named Bunker Hill). So the two

families to be considered in 1718 were Bunker cousins.

Stephen and Mary had ten children, of whom only four followed their father into Nantucket Meeting, though grandchildren by non-Quaker children did follow on. The two eldest sons had married and emigrated - probably to the north shore where their two mainland uncles lived (as well as the aunt) before the Meeting got started. These were Daniel Coffin, 1670-1724, and Peter Coffin, 1673-1750. Also a sister Dionis (Coffin) Norton, 1671-1750, had followed suit, but lived on the Vineyard. (Three of her children did come back to Nantucket.) Her husband was Jacob Norton, 1665-1740, son of the first of that name to settle on Martha's Vineyard.

The fourth child of the family Stephen Coffin Jr., 1675-1725, became a member and minister (like his aunt the Great Mary), as did his wife Experience (Look) Coffin, 1672-1759 - at least she became an elder. Experience was a Vineyarder in origin. They were married in 1693 and had five children, all members. The eldest Shubael Coffin, 1694-1737, was disowned in 1731 for habitual drunkeness. He had married in 1717, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, 1696-1738, daughter of the whaling magnate - into which industry Stephen Jr. had taken his family. They were childless - failing to serve as a fruitful dynastic union, as it were. The second child, Zephaniah Coffin, 1699-1774, wed Miriam (Macy) Coffin, 1708-1736, daughter of elder John, in 1725, and secondly, Abigail (Coleman) Coffin, 1711-1787, daughter of Soloman, in 1737. There were ten children, four by the first marriage. Zephaniah continued his father's active civic interests as Stephen Jr. was cut off in middle age.

A third child, Mary Coffin, 1705-1787, never married. The fourth, Hephzibah (Coffin) Barnard, 1708-1782, wed Robert Barnard, 1702-1782, son of John in 1726. Both were elders of note, and had twelve children. The fifth child, Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck,

1713-1793, (later Folger) wed Benjamin Starbuck, 1707-1731, in 1730, son of the men's Clerk, who was soon to be lost at sea. They had two children: and then in 1735, she married Abishai Folger, 1700-1778, soon to be representative in the Boston Legislature. Seven more children were born to her and her second husband. Stephen had 29 Quaker great-grandchildren by his namesake.

Of equal or greater importance was the inheritance of ← Stephen's fourth child, Judith (Coffin) Folger, 1678-1760, later Barnard, and still later Wilcox, who sat head of the Women's Meeting from 1714 to 1748. In 1697 she had wed Peter Folger, 1694-1707, son of the first school teacher; by whom she had four children, all active Quakers: these were Kezia (Folger) Gardner, 1699-1749, later Starbuck, who married Jethro Gardner, 1693-1734, son of James, in 1716, and had seven children. Then she wed Paul Starbuck, 1694-1759, in 1737, as his second wife. They had no children. The second, Daniel Folger, 1701-1744, wed Abigail (Folger) Folger, 1703-1787, daughter of John, in 1721 and had to apologize for irregularity. They had seven children. The third, Anna (Folger) Starbuck, 1703-1748, married William Starbuck, 1699-1760, minister, son of Elihu, in 1720. They had five children. Until her relatively early death non-Friends called her the "Queen of the Quakers". And there was Mary (Folger) Gardner, 1705-1763, later Coleman, who wed Nathaniel Gardner Jr., 1697-1727, in 1725. They had two children, and then in 1729, she married minister Nathaniel Coleman, 1697-1783; by whom she had three more children.

In 1709 Judith Folger married Nathaniel Barnard Jr., 1672-1718, a double widower - in Meeting. Three more children were born. The eldest, Elizabeth (Barnard) Coleman, 1710-1729, married Barnabas Coleman, 1708-1781, brother of minister Nathaniel in 1728. She then died leaving one son. The next child,

Peter Barnard, 1713-1775, wed Anna (Starbuck) Barnard, 1716-1785, daughter of the whaling magnate in 1734. They had ten children. The third, Nathaniel Barnard Third, 1717-1743, was lost at sea, unmarried. Then in 1722 Judith Barnard married minister Stephen Wilcox, 1675-1736, a widower from Dartmouth Meeting, who settled on the Island. Their one son, John Wilcox, 1725- ? , married out of Meeting, Hannah (Coffin) Wilcox, 1728-1814, daughter of Prince (non-Quaker) in 1748, and thus became inactive. By Judith, Stephen Coffin was great-grandfather to 35 Nantucket Quakers (but these were distaff great-grandchildren - treated exceptionally here).

Stephen's six child, Susannah (Coffin) Bunker, 1680-1740, married her cousin Peleg Bunker, 1676-1730, in 1706. They stayed out of Meeting having seven children, two of whom came among Friends. These were the fourth and fifth; Mary (Bunker) Barnard, 1707-1750, who wed Timothy Barnard, 1712-1749, son of Benjamin in 1732. They had six children; and there was Jonathan Bunker, 1709-1788, who married Judith (Macy) Bunker, 1721-1799, daughter of Richard, in 1724; they had eight children. In both cases the other families Quakerism prevailed. The seventh child, Mehitable (Coffin) Smith, 1682-1745, wed Armstrong Smith 1680-1705, of Philadelphia in 1700, probably not Quaker in any sense. She brought at least four of thier children back to Nantucket, one of whom, Elizabeth (Smith) Russell, 1715- ? , became Quaker in marrying William Russell, son of Joseph, the Quaker founder of New Bedford, to which place they removed.

The eighth child, Anna (Coffin) Gardner, 1685-1740, did come among Friends after her marriage in 1705 to Soloman Gardner, 1685-1740, non-Quaker son of Richard Jr., and his Quaker wife, Mary (Austin) Gardner. All of their ten children joined the Meeting - and became an important element among Friends. Rueben Gardner,

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1706-1784, the eldest, first married Love (Gardner) Gardner, 1706-1734, daughter of Joseph in 1729, out of Meeting, as she was no Quaker. Then in 1735 in Meeting he wed Theodate (Gorham) Coffin Gardner, 1705-1787, daughter of Shubael Gorham, (widow of Francis Coffin). They had four children. Then there was David Gardner, 1708-1798, minister, controversial figure in the great commons case who married Mary (Gardner) Gardner, 1713-1797, an elder, daughter of Samuel and Patience, in 1733. They had nine children. The third was Stephen Gardner, twin of David, who died in 1792, and married Jemima (Worth) Gardner, 1720-1789, daughter of William in 1742. They had nine children. The fourth was Richard Gardner, 1710- ? , who married in 1746, Sarah (Macy) Gardner, 1729- ? , daughter of John, and emigrated. The fifth was Soloman Gardner Jr., 1711-1764, who wed Mary (Pollard) Gardner, 1731-1805, daughter of Philip, in 1750. They had three children. The sixth, again a son, in this incredible series, Paul Gardner, 1712-1813, married Rachel (Starbuck) Gardner, 1735-1775, in 1754, and had seven children. The seventh was a girl Elizabeth (Gardner) Swain, 1712-1795, wife of Richard Swain, 1697-1770, non-Friend, son of Joseph, whom she married out of Meeting in 1722. They had five children but raised as Friends. The eighth, Sarah (Gardner) Joy, 1713-1777, became the second wife of David Joy, 1710-1787, a newcomer from Dartmouth in 1733. They had five children. The ninth was Mary (Coffin) Worth, 1713-1804, who married John Worth, 1713-1803, in 1735. He was Jonathan's son. They had nine children. And then the tenth was Dinah (Gardner) Macy, 1715- ? , who married David Macy, 1715- ? , son of John, in 1739. They had eight children. Thus Anna Gardner provided Stephen Coffin with 59 great grandchildren. It is not surprising one of her sons became a minister. He had an uncle who was such and a great-aunt (Mary Starbuck).

The ninth child of Stephen Coffin was Hephzibah (Coffin) Gardner, 1670-1708, who wed Samuel Gardner, 1692-1757, son of James, grandson of the Great Mary in 1707. A year later she was dead, just as they decided to come among Friends. Her child died as well. Finally there was Paul Coffin, 1695-1729, the heir of Stephen (by Nantucket rules) who pre-deceased his father. He had married Mary (Allen) Coffin, 1698- ? , in 1717, out of Meeting. They had two children, one of whom, Peter Coffin, 1718-1800, married Deborah (Hussey) Coffin, 1721-1785, daughter of George, in 1738, and had but two children. The other married off the Island as did Paul's widow. She became the second wife of Clothier Peirce, a wealthy Newport Quaker merchant. This branch added little to the Stephen Coffin clan. There were 139 great-grandchildren of the patriarch's heir in Nantucket Meeting, all in all. To this must be added 37 others including the husbands and wives of the third generation (as has been customary in this series), which produces a total of 176 - or a sizeable family by any count - and a very important one, by every measurement.

There were 22 appointees of the Men's Meeting, and 24 of the Women's to handle the marriages in this family. Benjamin Barney came first with seven male appointments, followed by John Macy with five. Ann Paddack had six, while Judith Wilcox and Hannah Bunker had five each. Stephen Coffin Jr. seems to have been the only male of this family to have been chosen, while Experience Coffin, Anna Starbuck and Mary Coleman represented the family on the distaff side. Of all these only Experience was called on a number of times. It would appear that Look, Folger, Barnard and especially Gardner admixtures went well with this family. It is curious how little intermarriage took place with their Hussey cousins - perhaps the non-Quaker Bunker link alienated them a bit. Of the 27 in the third generation to

marry, only 2 married off-Islanders. (Exceptionally in dealing with this family the distaff side was followed out - largely because Judith Wilcox married three times - and occupied so central a position in the Meeting all along.)

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 13.

## THE THIRD SIX YEARS - 1719-1725

Much of the year 1718 has been considered in covering the tenth anniversary of the Monthly Meeting. From that vantage point there are two events which loomed directly ahead. First a hurricane closed the mouth of Capaum Pond, hitherto considered the chief anchorage of the settlement. This was in the autumn of 1722, and brought in its train the full scale mass migration of the village; buildings and population to its present site. Then three years later the Commonwealth of Massachusetts erected a Congregational Meetinghouse and paid the salary of a Puritan minister to try to undercut the influence of the "heretical" Quakers. Already in 1712 a similar project had been realized in Dartmouth, to compete with the Meeting which had been founded there fifteen years before. A parallel lapse of time had occurred on Nantucket. It is true that Puritan "missionaries" had been sent to the Island on occasion including one, Nathan Prince, from 1722 to 1723. He found that the anti-Quaker minority was generally satisfied with tearing down - but unwilling to come forward to help construct a successful rival ecclesiastical institution. But once the "old vestry" (or its predecessor) was dedicated in 1725, a small neucleus was gathered, which grew, it must be signalled, only very slowly - in contrast to the burgeoning expansion of the Society of Friends on the Island. However, the physical appearance of a second

religious body (for white people) had the effect of sobering the Friends of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Already in 1722 the Meeting warned against supporting "paid ministry". Nathan Prince produced a report in 1722 which corroborates the impression of an egalitarian community, mostly involved in whaling. That year both fishing and corn farming had suffered, by contrast.

He then noted "several" religious sects - Quakers, Puritans, Anabaptists and "Philadelphians". However, the growth of the Quakers Prince noticed as phenomenal: all dating from the convincement of Mary Starbuck, till at this reading there were "several hundreds" of Quaker members. He also noted that though they had a general Yearly Meeting like Sandwich, the Nantucket Friends were stricter, more zealous, better read, and they had the distinction of building the sole white man's place of worship on the Island. Moreover Prince observed, twenty years before, the Island hardly heard of the profession.

The year 1718 marked a turning point at Yearly Meeting Not on Nantucket, but elsewhere in New England, Friends had become too "worldly" - too like their Puritan neighbors. So the custom of "bowing and scraping" before magistrates was condemned! Elaborate weddings were warned against; and defamation of character was made a disownable offence. Some years before (1710) mourning had been frowned upon; as were tomb stones. Nathaniel Starbuck was on hand to report all this; the Yearly Meeting having been held partly in Portsmouth for the first time. In fact the men's Clerk got to all but the 1724 sessions during the time span of this chapter. In 1725 he participated in his 13th Yearly Meeting. No other Friends shared in this service right on up to the 20th anniversary of the Monthly Meeting. Starbuck was present when plays and romances were condemned in 1720. This extraordinary resistance to the imaginative arts was the obsessive side of a testimony in favor of integrity and

truth, and though it bore no ill fruit on Nantucket for a time, it eventually combined with the unresolved property problem on the Island to do what Nathan Prince and the General Court of Massachusetts could not achieve.

As for Quarterly Meeting activities; Jethro Starbuck and John Macy attended in the autumn of 1718 to learn that Providence Monthly Meeting had been set off by Greenwich Friends. Thus R.I. Quarterly Meeting achieved five consitiuent parts. A year later Nathaniel Coleman, the young minister, was given responsibility to represent Nantucket at Quarterly Meeting. Summer Meetings were missed both in 1718 and in 1719, though Jethro was asked to write to spring Quarterly Meeting and in the summer Nathaniel Starbuck and Stephen Coffin were asked to attend. No one went al all in 1720 or 1721, if the record is accurate. Admittedly there was a great danger from coastal piracy - but Friends were not ones to flee from danger. And the men's Clerk got to Yearly Meeting during these years.

Jethro Folger and Thomad Clark, both new to such service, were appointed at least in theory to attend the autumn Quarterly Meeting in 1719. John Macy was asked to be in Newport in the spring of 1720. Nathaniel and Jethro Starbuck wrote the summer report in 1720 with the help of John Macy. And in the autumn Jethro prepared the paper with his nephew, Nathaniel Coleman. The latter was asked to attend the spring Meeting in 1721. Then in the summer Batchelor Hussey and John Coleman were asked to go. In the autumn it was John Coleman and Jethro Starbuck. Surely some of the appointees got to Rhode Island. It would seem that there must have been some omissions from Quarterly Meeting Minutes.

In 1722 three sessions were certainly attended; that spring Nathaniel Coleman went with Batchelor Hussey, Nathaniel was back in the summer, while his uncle Jethro Starbuck took charge in the autumn. Bachelor was named to the summer Meeting but

apparently missed it. Similarly Nathaniel was supposed to have accompanied his uncle Jethro in the "fall". Perhaps it was on that trip that Jethro overcame the pirate who had captured his sloop, by using as weapons, his pails of salt water and his mops. The defeated pirate was set adrift - and the Quaker peace testimony vindicated - in an unusual way. Little of great moment was decided at Quarterly Meeting during these years. Rhode Island Monthly Meeting was permitted to process marriage applications at mid-week Meetings as they had so many. And on the negative side Swansea Friends were refused the right to a separate Monthly Meeting in 1719 - they had to wait another thirteen years. Women Friends still relied on their Clerk to send the appropriate messages to their Quarterly Meeting. Dorcas Starbuck acted in the summer and autumn of 1718, the summer and autumn of 1719 (in the latter case Dinah Starbuck joined her in the work), the spring and summer of 1720, the summer of 1721 and the spring, summer and autumn of 1722.

Visitors to Nantucket during these years showed no slackening off, though 1718 and 1721 were in fact lean years. The first of the lean years brought only Nicholas Davis, a minister of Dartmouth, who was very active in building up New England Quakerism. Later he would transfer his activities to North Carolina: and eventually he would die in New York State - with Jacob Mott,Jr. present at his bedside. With Davis came John Wanton, the shipbuilder of Tiverton, whose work was important to the flourishing whaling industry. The 1721 visitor was John Appleton a well known Yorkshire Quaker, whose presence was minuted by Monthly Meeting. Between whiles nine (!) groups of visitors arrived. The first of these attended the General Meeting of 1719. Ann Stanyan, Mary Brown, (wife of Jacob Brown), and Sarah Norton, kin of Lydia Norton, were from Hampton M.M. on the North Shore; while Isaac Hadwen and John Dansen came from

Britain. Isaac was a Yorkshireman destined to die in Chester, Pennsylvania, while Danson came from Lancashire, though both were then members of George Fox's own Swarthmoor Meeting. No one of these five were especially famous Quakers. The men's visitors names however, were "spread" in the Men's Minutes, where ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ they heard that Mary Rogers desired a "certificate of removal" westward. In fact after being enquired into by Jethro Starbuck and Stephen Coffin, Mary got the paper and moved to Long Island - from which point we lose touch with her. Except that in 1721 she got a certificate of clearness to marry. Mary Rogers was then well over 40 years of age. Probably she went to Flushing; that is to New York. Interestingly men Friends took this certificate in hand, not the women. Mary's mother Martha (Barnard) Rogers had passed away in 1718; Mary had cared for her to the end.

A month later Elizabeth Wartnaby, now from Philadelphia, got a returning Minute (she had been on the Island six years before, it will be recalled, as a British Friend). With her similarly was Rebecca Turner of Yorkshire, who apparently had also spoken acceptably to the Men's Meeting. But nothing was minuted. A month later Lydia (Beck) Lancaster and Elizabeth (Rawlinson) Rawlinson, sisters-in-law from Lancaster, appeared. They were probably brought over by Peleg Slocumb on his seventh visit. In any case he did bring Rose (Austin) Tibbets on her third trip, bringing greetings from her ailing mother, and possibly to attend the funeral of her sister, Deborah (Austin) Coffin of Edgartown. In any case they attended that for Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. And then a bit later Nicholas Austin, Rose's brother, also a public Friend, stopped by to take her home. Nicholas would soon move his family to Abington, Pennsylvania, far from the Abanaki Indian war which then threatened the New Hampshire frontier.

Yearly Meeting in 1720 brought a record company of seven visitors. The Stanyan-Brown-Norton trio were back, and as well James Stanyan, a son, for good measure. Nathaniel Howland, a Dartmouth minister came along, as well as Jacob Mott Jr. (sixth visit). Also Stephen Wilcox, another minister of Dartmouth, made the trip. This was interesting as it led to his romance with Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard, the head of the Women's Meeting. This affair must have caused quite a stir. And it had unpleasant as well as romantic overtones as will be seen later on.

Then Nicholas Austin returned in company with Ephriam Tibbetts, husband to minister Rose. They brought a copy of Sewel's History of the Quakers bought in London with the proceeds of spermaceti oil sold there. This work went to the Clerk's household, while a grandfather clock (now in Cincinnati) went to his brother, Jethro Starbuck. This was the time that marriage alliances were looming with their Nantucket cousins. Finally Joseph Wanton, John's brother came on, with, it may be supposed, more than Quaker interests to the fore. He had been on the Island fourteen years before.

To look at the marriage market during this period is instructive. The first to occur was between Soloman Coleman, widowed brother of the head of the Men's Meeting and Deliverence Swett of Salem M. M. Jethro Starbuck was asked to act with Thomas Clark (new to this service), while Dorcas Starbuck and Experience Coffin took Deliverence under their care. A letter granting permission on the distaff side arrived in due season from Moses Swett and Mary (Hussey) Swett. Apparently they had lived on Nantucket in the pre-Meeting era, but had returned to the North Shore. Deliverence's mother was a first cousin to Batchelor Hussey. An older sister of Deliverence had already married a non-Quaker ~~Coleman~~ brother of William Swain (out of Meeting) while a similar

marriage would occur in due season for a younger sister, to a non-Quaker Coleman nephew of Soloman's. For the record this was the first marriage of an off-Island Quaker on to Nantucket after the Monthly Meeting was formed. The year was 1718. Soloman and Deliverence were married 54 years. They raised eight children (and his motherless first-born). Six of these raised Quaker families on Nantucket.

This was followed by the request of Paul Starbuck, the Clerk's son, to marry his second cousin, Ann Tibbetts, of Dover M. M. Thomas Clark was joined by Jabez Macy (a newcomer to the post) to enquire into Paul's intentions. The women chose Experience Coffin and her sister-in-law, Judith Barnard. Probably Ephriam had brought his daughter on the Island at the time of his visit. Certainly no letter of approval was required. Paul was a glazier, whose trade was in great demand as building and rebuilding had come to the fore. Their wedding was as festive as the Yearly Meeting Minute allowed, for the "crown prince" had married into the original ministerial Quaker Starbuck house on the mainland. Paul and Ann's marriage lasted 18 years. She then died leaving him with nine children; seven of whom raised Quaker families on the Island.

The third 1718 marriage was similarly outreaching. This was for Samuel Barker and Bethiah Folger as noted in the previous chapter. Actually consent for the groom came through Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, within whose bounds he had recently lived. Notwithstanding Jethro Starbuck and Stephen Coffin Jr. made enquiries, and a special Meeting was held to expedite the marriage (hitherto a practice known only in Rhode Island). Experience and Judith acted for Bethiah as they had for Ann Tibbetts, so that Bethiah was able to set up her home in Woods Hole before the year was out. Theirs was union lasting 21 years, blessed with four children, none of whom raised a Quaker family on the

Island. Two in fact were disowned.

Even more far reaching was the case of William Clasby and Abial Gardner. William arrived in May 1719, with a certificate from Kingwood M.M. in England. By August he and Mary Jenkins' sister had made up their minds and requested oversight for marriage in the presence of Lydia Lancaster and Elizabeth Rawlinson. The Women's Meeting chose Sarah (Macy) Barnard to act with Priscilla Coleman, while the men relied upon Jethro Starbuck and Thomas Clark. Again no letter was needed as a certificate had been presented. William and Abial lived together 37 years before her death. They raised eight children, of whom six raised Quaker families on the Island.

The process seemed to be catching, for the fourth wedding in this period involved Benjamin Estes, tailor, son of Richard, the Quaker visitor from Hampton M.M., and Elizabeth Long, daughter of Sarah (Skiff) Long. Benjamin had been working near Newport and so brought a "certificate of clearness" from Providence Monthly Meeting. John Macy and Jabez Bunker (he also new to this service) acted, while the women named Sarah Barnard and Priscilla a second time running. In 1724 this couple left to make their home in Scituate, for which they received a certificate of transfer. They then had one infant daughter.

Eight more Quaker marriages were solemnized before the harbor at Capaum had silted over, bringing the total to thirteen in the years 1718 to 1722. The last requested in 1719 did not involve off-Islanders. Abigail Trott was sister to the Mary who got a Minute of transfer to Long Island in 1714, the year after her sister, Tabotha had been disowned. Their mother was a founding member. Abigail sought marriage with George Brown, brick-mason, grandson of a John Brown of Puritan background, who came on to the Island half a century before. John was a widower, having originally married a non-Quaker step-daughter of

Elizabeth Cartwright. This was hardly a typical Nantucket Quaker marriage! The men chose Jethro Starbuck and Batchelor Hussey to visit George, while the women depended on Sarah and Judith Barnard for Abigail. George was instrumental in opening the first claypits on Nantucket in 1720 (whose deposits were destined for brick-making). George and Abigail had six children - but only one who raised a Quaker family. Three never married. Their parents lived together 57 years.

As the year 1720 drew on the two young minister cousins proposed marriages at the same Monthly Meeting. William Starbuck, Jethro and Dinah's son, chose Anna Folger, daughter of Judith Barnard, head of the Women's Meeting. Elihu Coleman appeared with Jemima Barnard daughter of Sarah (Macy) Barnard, the overseer. Stephen Coffin and John Macy were appointed for the two promising younger members of the establishment, while Experience Coffin and Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, (a new name) enquired into the girls. Elihu was married three days before William. Both weddings were larger than any held before on the Island. They formed a fitting parallel to that of their cousin Paul Starbuck. Elihu and Jemima lived together 59 years. They raised eight children, seven of whom raised Quaker families on Nantucket. William and Anna's union last only 28 years (when she died). They had five children, four of whom raised families in the Monthly Meeting.

The final wedding in 1720 was that for Shubael Folger, son of John (brother of Jethro, Bethiah Barker and Jonathan), who chose to marry Jerusha Clark, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Church) Clark. Samuel Barker and Batchelor Hussey made enquiries, but as the Woods Hole citizen had to get home, he was replaced in the actual oversight of the ceremony by Nathaniel Starbuck. Experience Coffin and Judith Barnard acted for Jerusha. Shubael and Jerusha started a marriage companionship which lasted 58 years.

They had seven children, six of whom raised Quaker families (one marrying twice). From them came the main Quaker Folger descent.

Early in 1721 a letter was accepted from a Joseph Mott, of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting (possibly a son of Jacob Jr.), in which he apologized for marrying a Rebecca Manning of Nantucket - out of Meeting. She was no Quaker, but as the civil wedding had taken place on the Island, he apologized there first. The letter was sent on to Newport, where it may be supposed it reinstated Joseph, and made his bride a Quakeress in good standing. This is the first evidence in the Nantucket records that Quakers were disciplined for "marrying out".

The first application in 1721 (though the second ceremony) was for Andrew Gardner, son of the late minister (brother to Hannah Bunker, Capt. Ebeneezer, Judith Barnard and Margaret Folger). He married a second cousin (as the Minutes exceptionally noted) in the figure of Mary Gorham, eldest daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham (then removed from Boston to Barnstable, Cape Cod). Batchelor Hussey and John Coleman acted for the Meeting in concert with Experience and Judith Barnard (who had dealt with Jerusha Clark recently), Andrew and Mary formed a companionship lasting 49 years. They had a dozen children, five of whom married after 1763 (two of these were disowned). Three never married and the others appeared to be but indifferent members.

The marriage which intervened was obviously between cousins as nearness of kinship was noted. Daniel Folger, son of Judith Barnard (head of the Women's Meeting) wed Abigail Folger, daughter of John. Again Batchelor Hussey and John Coleman served - this time with Experience Coffin and Sarah Barnard. It would appear that Daniel had to get off to go whaling, and thus the usual two

months waiting period was shortened. Jethro Starbuck and Jethro Folger oversaw the ceremony itself. Unfortunately it came out some months later that pre-marital relations was the real reason for haste. Daniel wrote an apology which was read publicly, before they were fully forgiven by the community in the spring of 1722. They were married 21 years and had six children.

A similar situation rose in 1723 for Abigail Starbuck, daughter of the Clerk, and Thomas Howes Third, the worldly son of Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall. But they hoped to avoid apology by marrying out - by civil ceremony. But by 1724 Abigail Howes "ate humble pie" and thereby kept herself a Friend, and allowed for her husband to be considered one of the Meeting. Thomas and Abigail lived 16 years together before he was lost at sea; they had but two children.

The final wedding in 1721 was between Benjamin Barney, of Newport, (for whom a Minute of clearness was produced from Rhode Island M.M.) and Lydia Starbuck, daughter of the women's Clerk. John Coleman and Jabez Macy were drawn into oversight, as were minister Priscilla, and "head of Meeting", Judith. This was an important marriage linking Nantucket to one of the principal families at the home base of New England Quakerism. Barney was a tailor, filling a need long felt on the Island. His grandfather, was the distinguished founder of the first Baptist Church in Boston - no mean achievement, either. Benjamin and Lydia had 29 years together before her death; they had eight children.

Then in the summer of 1722 occurred the largest Quaker wedding yet held. This was for Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard and Stephen Wilcox, the minister from Dartmouth - who came to settle on the Island. Here Batchelor Hussey and John Macy were called into action, while the women decided that their "head" had no need of enquiry. Later that year both a statement

of clearness and a certificate of removal for Stephen were received but apparently Stephen had an exalted notion of his position in the Nantucket Meeting (for certainly he had married wealth), so that early in 1725 he was "dealt with" for undesirable ministry and "disorderly walking". After that he appeared to settle down into the rather special Island situation. Nathaniel Starbuck and Batchelor Hussey had been asked to deal with Stephen Wilcox - who seemed pretty reticent at first to grant the rightness of the Meeting to admonish him. Stephen and Judith had 14 years together, and one son, to join her children by previous marriages.

The last wedding request in this series occurred between Nathaniel Gardner Jr. and Jemima Coffin (granddaughter of both Judge Peter and the Great Mary), whose eldest sister, Abigail Fitch, lost much by fire in Boston in 1714, and whose next elder sister Eunice late wife of Ebenezer was buried in the Quaker acre in 1718. Jemima had been ward of Jethro Starbuck. John Macy and Stephen Coffin were asked to assure clearness with Ann Paddack and Abigail Hussey. This was indeed a unique case as the committees recommended against the marriage on the grounds that as Jemima's parents were double first cousins, it was not right for her to marry still another first cousin. What the emotional consequences of this refusal were have not come down to us. It was about this time that Yearly Meeting rules (1708 and 1709) regarding marriage restrictions were "spread" in the Minute Book. Actually these seem more to be prohibitions between brothers and sisters-in-law, uncles, aunts and nieces, nephews, than between cousins. It was agreed at this point that weddings could be held during mid-week Meetings rather than at a special time. I have not checked dates to discover if this permission was largely followed. Incidentally it would

seem that only some of the witnesses signed marriage certificates. Obviously a great many

Obviously a great many "newer" people were being brought into the business of marriage counselling. They almost had to be for the increase of weddings in this five years period over the first decade, was on the order of 130%.

Thomas Clark served only the three times indicated in this chapter and Sarah Barnard similarly for four, while John Macy handled nine. Abigail Hussey arranged seven, while Ann Paddack oversaw three. In comparison with the "normal" counsellors during the first decade these dozen or so were given limited commissions.

In the autumn of 1719 a committee was formed, following the advice of Yearly Meeting, to visit all families to see if the more exacting standards mentioned earlier in this chapter were being carried out. The members of this committee were not specified, but as Nathaniel Starbuck was so occupied in 1723, he may well have started four years earlier. Probably Stephen Coffin or John Coleman joined him, but this is not sure. The work of the committee was increased by a testimony being issued in the summer of 1720 against "periwigs". Some Friends apparently felt their bald pates required cover, for in the autumn of 1721, Nantucket Friends asked of Quarterly Meeting advice as to what kinds of wigs were permissable. Then in the summer of 1722 still another unspecified committee was asked to inspect the wig situation again to assure that men Friends cut their hair short as well. Obviously the hats of younger Friends were judged to be far too "gay" at that time. To us the whole issue appears to be tinged with an absurd unreality. In any case the catastrophy of the autumn hurricane of 1722 abruptly ended consideration of Quaker "head gear" on the Island. A new Book of Discipline containing the revision of

1719 was asked for in 1721 and received ~~xxx~~ in the pivotal year of 1722.

In the spring of 1720 a collection was taken to help Salem Friends build a new Meetinghouse, the first such since that for Boston. Five years later similar action was undertaken for Providence Friends, and two years later the hours of public worship for Meetings in Salem Quarterly Meeting were listed. Apparently there was more than a bit of coming and going. Also in 1720 for the first time business was so full on Nantucket that a special session of Monthly Meeting was held. Three years later the mid-week Meeting (Fifth-day) preceeding Monthly Meeting was set aside as a preparative Meeting, to sort out business and to process what was "proper" to be put on Monthly Meeting agenda. Obviously Quakerism was flourishing!

Before Preparative Meeting was established Nantucket lost one of her original active members. This was the treasurer Barnabas Starbuck, who moved to Newport a month before the hurricane. The empty Parliament Houde was ready to be put on rollers and moved to the great harbor. Thomas Macy took on the treasury. Barnabas had waited to settle his father's estate. The elder Starbuck was laid to rest in 1719, two years after his more famous wife. He reached the age of 83; leaving three sons, three daughters, thirty-five grandchildren and twenty-one great-grandchildren; a total of 62, of whom only 11 were not Quakers. In his last will and testament the senior Starbuck donated half of his proprietary shares ~~xx~~ at Wesko to Barnabas, three-eighths to Nathaniel and one-eighth to Jethro. Those in the rest of the Island went:- one quarter to Nathaniel and three quarters to Jethro. Nathaniel also received one acre in fee simple at Wesko. This area was located at the great harbor, to which the town would move and had been the scene of the disownment troubles involving Stephen Hussey. It was in fact a kind of proprietary

"achilles heel" for the future of the Meeting - as will be seen later. Each of Nathaniel's three daughters received £20. (perhaps 15,000 dollars). All household effects except for three feather beds were to be divided by the daughters. Barnabas got the feather beds and as well, with his two brothers acted as executor. There is no way to estimate the total value of the senior Starbuck's estate. It was unquestionably large.

A year later magistrate James Coffin died. So both Nathaniel Jr. and Dinah Starbuck lost their respective fathers at nearly the same time. James was 80, but he left 125 descendants, double the number of the older man (Nathaniel Starbuck). Most of these were, needless to say, not Quakers. Sarah Varney also died this year at her home in Dover, leaving 55 descendants on the Islands of Marthas Vineyard and Nantucket. Already two years before in 1718 her one-time Edgartown daughter, Deborah (Austin) Coffin died, aged 66. Then in 1721 Sarah Varney's original Nantucket daughter died. Mary (Austin)Gardner was similarly aged 66 at death. She left her husband, Richard Gardner Jr. (non-Quaker), and six sons, and two daughters, of whom only one sibling was a member of the Society of Friends. There were also 18 grandsons and 17 granddaughters,; a total of 43. The original Austin influence had been spent.

Another death which affected Friends more than might be imagined at first glance was that of Capt. Nathaniel Coffin, magistrate James' second son, who was lost at sea in 1721, the year after his father's passing, leaving Damaris Coffin, his Quaker heiress wife, a widow. Capt. Nathaniel was at the mid-century mark. As he died intestate, the court gave Damaris his entire estate. Much of it must have been hers in origin. The value was £1,379.5s.3d. (possibly 120,000 dollars). There were six sons and three daughters in the family. The eldest three had already married off the Island. Three more would

follow suit. only the other three (mostly the younger ones) would marry on to the Island and in to the Meeting. As long as Capt. Nathaniel lived, the family moved in a fashionable way of life which was far different from the Newport Book of Quaker Discipline. Without him, Damaris was drawn to the simpler solid Quaker virtues embodied by the woman's Clerk, the other survivor of the original Gayer family. One son Benjamin Coffin, aged 15 went regularly with his mother to Meeting. He would become in time the 18th century Nantucket Quaker scholar, schoolmaster, accountant and first banker on the Island.

One of Capt. Nathaniel's brothers, Joseph Coffin, had died in 1719, in fact the year before their father's death. But in this case though Joseph's widow did not come into the Meeting, (she was a Macy) most of her children eventually did. So in that sense Joseph and Capt. Nathaniel's disappearances, like that of their father removed obstacles to the growth of the Meeting.

The really important death in the Coffin Family was that of Stephen Coffin Jr. aged 50 only. Stephen was the second male Quaker minister to go. He was, without question the most active politician in town - the man whose opposition had spelled ruin for Stephen Hussey. Experience Coffin, his widow, carried on, a most helpful Quaker elder. Unfortunately their heir, Shubael, showed already the signs of unsteadiness which would eventually bring about his tragic end. Fortunately a second son, Zephaniah Coffin, then aged 24, carried on his father's whaling interests. But, of course, there was the proprietary sheep monopoly which had been run by Stephen Jr. for his father. Probably Judith Wilcox and her minister husband Stephen took some responsibility here, though her brother Paul (a non-Quaker) had been drawn actively into the situation, at least as long as Mary (Bunker) Coffin, their mother lived - which was till 1724, in other words,

the Quaker element in the family of Tristram Coffin's only surviving son, proved dominant. Only with the death of Stephen Sr. (in 1734) was there a concerted action to break the Quaker stranglehold on the Proprietary. Stephen Coffin Jr. must have known his health was failing as he wrote a will naming his Vineyard born wife as executrix. No total is given as to the value of the estate, half of which went to his widow. Shubael and Zephaniah shared in the invaluable acre upon which a portion of the town was being re-erected. Wharf shares, Tuckernuck Island claims and stock on the moors were generally divided equally, though some Tuckernuck claims and Quaise lands went to his daughters, Hephzibah and Dinah, both minors. Their older sister Mary Coffin, aged 15 was omitted. She never married, so it may be supposed that she suffered some disability mental or physical. Mary apparently attended Meeting all her long life. Stephen left his father, two brothers, five sisters, widow, two sons and three daughters; only five descendants.

Stephen had served the town actively during the last period of his life, still as Selectman, assessor of property and juryman. As moderator of town meeting he had introduced formal voting in 1720 about the time magistrate James Coffin died - probably to satisfy the non-Quaker element. In 1722 the title "selectman" was first used. Before that it had been "trustee" - in fact an accurate description of their proprietary responsibility (which had been merged with the selectman's post). As Stephen failed, the town voted a curfew on Negroes and Indians and other stray individuals, with a fine of two shillings to be levied for infractions. By this time much of the settlement had crowded down to the Great Harbour which was in fact becoming urbanized. Stephen Coffin's last service was to oversee the rounding up of stray hogs. He had already bequeathed his post of selectman to Shubael and his job as moderator to Nathaniel

Starbuck, long his collaborator as Town Clerk.

The worst sea tragedy till this time involved the loss of four of Jabez Bunker's brothers - in 1721. Possibly they went down on the sloop which took the life of Capt. Nathaniel Coffin. In any cade the drowning of five able-bodied men in one year was a great shock to the Island. John, Jonathan and Thomas were not Friends, but Benjamin Bunker was. He was the youngest of the four, then aged 28, having been a founding member of Meeting. It will be recalled that his widow Deborah (Paddack) Bunker had been a Cape girl; she was then left to care for five lively sons. Benjamin's estate does not seem to have gone before the courts. Jabez probably undertook to act as guardian for the children, while Deborah continued to live in the old Bunker household which had gone in part to Benjamin fine years before. In a letter to John Fothergill Sr., Nathaniel Starbuck noted the loss of twelve men during the hurricane of 1722, half Indians. They were all married men as were two of the white settlers. None of this group were Quakers, it happened. Benjamin Bunker left his mother, three brothers, three sisters, wife, and five children. He had been born grandson to Thomas Macy the founder of Nantucket.

By far the most impressive funeral for this time span must have been that for Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, whose death in 1724 when aged 92, revealed that half the white population, that is 218 persons were her descendants on the Island. This figure breaks down into: one son; four daughters; 25 grandsons, 22 granddaughters; 79 great-grandsons, 86 great-granddaughters; 5 great-great-grandsons and one great-great-granddaughter. Probably half of these were Quakers. She was the final as well as almost the first link with the establishment of Quakerism in America. She had made her home with her son Richard Gardner, who preceeded her in death by one year, dying aged 59. He must have been a

bit of a scoffer and certainly not unattractive to women. He had four wives in all; the first being a daughter of the Great Mary Starbuck. She died about the time the Quaker visits began. The second wife was of the anti-Quaker John Gardner family. The third was a Puritan Harker (of Folger descent) and the fourth, one of magistrate James Coffin's daughters. Even she pre-deceased him. So it was that the ancient matriarch lived on with one graddaughter, Mehitable Gardner (the last of a Quaker family of six grandchildren). Mehitable was about to marry a Quaker arrival direct from England and to carry her grandmother's Quaker tradition actively forward.

Other deaths included that of John Trott, in 1719, aged 64, non-Quaker husband of Anna, and father of Abigail Brown. The family was not steady as has been noted before. And now John Trott Jr. was up before the magistrates for drunkenness in 1721. John, who was no Quaker, never married. Another death was that of Mary (Church) Clark, wife of Thomas, in 1720, aged 44. She was his second wife, soon to be replaced by a third. Her eldest daughter Jerusha was also a member. Mary Clark had been a Quaker for only about four years, leaving six children, her husband and a non-Quaker sister on the Island.

Still another temporary loss as far as the Meeting was concerned was that of Theodate Hussey, youngest of Stephen's daughters, who was disowned in 1721 (the third Friend so treated) for not showing sufficient repentence in a paper she wrote condemning an affair she had with an unnamed man. Obviously she had inherited some of the highly independent spirit of her father. But the Meeting relented, for in 1722 Nathaniel Starbuck recorded that men Friends accepted a second fuller apology from the youngest female Hussey. Five years later Theodate would marry out of Meeting and continue to live in what must have been a somewhat hostile atmosphere. Late in 1724 her brother Batchelor Hussey, prominent

citizen and Quarterly Meeting Friend that he was, had also to submit a letter of condemnation, or "self-criticism" as it would now be called - for an unspecified infraction of Quaker standards. He was forgiven. Immediately afterwards a third such letter to come from the Hussey family appeared. This was from Abigail (Starbuck) Howes (as before mentioned). Her husband was son of Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall, the most flamboyant personality on the Island. Unlike her older sister Puella, who became a Quaker by marrying in to the Yarmouth Meeting, Abigail stoutly refused this at the time of her wedding with Thomas Howes, in 1700. They set sail the day after their wedding in Yarmouth for Nantucket, with one Indian servant. A squall overturned the boat. Thomas was drowned; Abigail kept the Indian afloat and they eventually got to shore. In time a posthumous son Thomas Jr. was born. From his father, Abigail inherited a considerable fortune. With it she built the first brick-gambrel roofed house on the Island, complete with a fireplace set with imported Dutch tile. She invested in whaling, and generally cut a figure, which even the Puritans regretted. The records indicate she bore Joseph Marshall (the Quaker minister) a son in 1722. ~~- She died in 1725 - and it may be presumed that her elegant residence became that of Joseph Marshall. No account of her estate occurs in the County Book of Wills. She was survived by her husband, two sons, three sisters and three brothers, and her widowed mother (not a Friend).~~

Irregularities and the imminent appearance of the "old vestry" upon whose door the town ordered a third set of public notices to be put - led the Meeting to buy two more "books" - one for listing marriage certificates and the other for Thomas Macy to keep his financial accounts. Twenty-eight marriage certificates were thereupon copied into the first of these

record books. Earlier that year (1724) the practice of reporting back how weddings were held was engaged upon. It is perhaps appropriate here to continue the account of the marriages after 1722 till the marriage book began to be used.

The first was appropriately enough held for Capt. Silvanus Hussey, brother of Puella Gorham, Abigail Marshall, Batchelor, George and the disownable Theodate. Already married in 1712, out of Meeting, to a Brown (sister of George the Quaker), Silvanus was a widower in 1722 with small children. His second wife was none other than Hephzibah Starbuck, the Clerk's daughter, who appeared to have inherited his gift in the ministry. Capt. Silvanus thus became a Friend, indeed an elder of consequence and eventually Clerk of the Men's Meeting. Jethro Folger and Stephen Wilcox were named to the service of oversight, though John Macy replaced Stephen at the ceremony. Damaris Coffin and Judith Macy acted for the women Friends. Silvanus and Hephzibah lived together 41 years and had eight children.

Then another widower appeared. Thomas Clark now sought re-marriage with the widow of Jonathan Bunker (who was drowned in 1721). She was Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker, already mother of nine children, who were put together with his six, still at home. Obviously Elizabeth was the one more imbued with Quaker enthusiasm. At least her nine all became Friends, while only one of his six followed their father. Elizabeth was a founding member, sister of Dinah Starbuck, thus daughter to the late magistrate ~~member~~ James Coffin. Thomas Clark had no children by his third marriage, which lasted 17 years. Jabez Bunker and Jabez Macy attended Thomas while Priscilla and Experience were weighty enough for Elizabeth.

The third wedding to be started in 1723 was completed in 1724. for cousins as the Minute Book noted: Daniel Pinkham and Eunice Starbuck. Daniel was a brother of Shubael and Deborah Macy,

while Eunice was the second daughter of Jethro and Dorcas. Nathaniel Starbuck himself went with Batchelor Hussey to make enquiries. Abigail Hussey combined with Judith Macy in the service. This was a wedding in which the bride's family obviously put forward the strong Quaker influence. The Coffin family produced the link in kinship. Certainly this was thr first wedding for which a report back to Meeting was made. Daniel and Eunice's marriage lasted 21 years - till her death. They had no children. He remarried, but still had no children.

The next wedding (first to be started in 1724) was for Mehitable Gardner, youngest of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner's "second" household. She selected a Philip Pollard from Exeter, England, a Quaker newcomer to the Island. Mehitable was obviously conscious of the heritage she received from the first Quaker "publishers of truth"; and soon became a gifted minister in her own right. Jethro Starbuck and Nathaniel Coleman inspected the newcomer - if he brought a certificate of clearness, no mention is made - while Judith Wilcox and Judith Macy looked after Mehitable. Hephzibah Hathaway attended this wedding and may well have spoken. Philip and Mehitable lived 40 years together till his death; they had but three children..

At the end of 1724 another marriage involving an off-Islander was held. This was for Nathaniel Allen, son of Edward Allen, and Anne (Coleman) Allen, whose homestead is still the oldest standing on Upper Main St.. (1714). His mother was a cousin of the head of the Men's Meeting. The bride was Provided Gaskell, daughter of Samuel Gaskell, the Quaker of Salem, who had been on the Island a decade before, and came on again with his daughter in May of 1724. Her mother Provided (Southwick) Gaskell was descended from the heroic first generation of Massachusetts Bay Quakers. Jabez Macy and Nathaniel Coleman were appointed by Men Friends, while Abigail Hussey and Judith Wilcox served the

Women's Meeting. The wedding which took place early in 1725, was graced with the presence and probably the ministry of Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway, from Dartmouth. Nathaniel and Provided had two children before she died in five years time. Nathaniel remarried out of Meeting.

Two more weddings occurred in 1725, finishing off this period. Both were for Friends of particular interest. First there was Nathaniel Gardner Jr. (whose application three years before had been turned down). He finally wed Mary Folger, daughter of Judith Wilcox. The other marriage was for Zephaniah Coffin, whose father, Stephen was disappearing from the scene. He chose Miriam Macy, eldest daughter of John Macy, the head of that house. John Macy and Nathaniel Coleman were asked to visit Nathaniel Jr., though Jethro Starbuck replaced John Macy in the oversight of the wedding. Dorcas and Priscilla (in other words, the "old guard") looked after Mary. It was a notable occasion as Elizabeth (Reed) Levis and Jane Fenn were attenders and signed the certificate. Both were Pennsylvania Friends. Elizabeth came from Kennet Meeting on the Brandywine, described as "no busybody" - no doubt a model of discretion. Yet she was probably the first Quakeress to question the use of alcoholic beverages. Her companion Jane Fenn, later Hoskins, was a ladies maid, serving in Grace Lloyd's Germantown mansion - but so egalitarian were Friends that she travelled as a minister. She had been moved to join Friends under the powerful ministry of Elizabeth Levis. Later Jane became a school teacher, and was like her mentor a gifted preacher. They may have met Nathaniel's father at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1712. No such notables appeared at Zephaniah's wedding. Jethro Folger and Nathaniel Coleman enquired into the Coffin heir, while Abigail Hussey and Mary Jenkins did the same for Miriam Macy. Nathaniel and Mary lived together only two years when

he was lost at sea. She would soon remarry taking their two small children into the new family. Zephaniah and Miriam had 11 years of marriage, when she died leaving four children; naturally Zephaniah married again. In 1725 Parnel Coffin daughter of miller Samuel, great-granddaughter of Sarah Austin, married a non-Quaker cousin out of Meeting. She then died in 1727 probably in childbirth, leaving her parents and eight siblings in Meeting. There were eventually a total of 103 Quaker children born to the 20 couples married under the care of the Meeting from 1718 to 1725. A decided increase as compared to the 23 stemming from the 4 marriages dating from 1711 to 1718. The average length of marriages in the first 20 years was 22 and one half years - a good level.

In glancing over the list of marriage visitors from 1722 to 1725, two new appointees appear. Stephen Wilcox was apparently not a favorite for he served but once. Judith Macy on the other hand acted fifteen times. In contrast then the first half of this time span saw little innovation. Similarly Quarterly and Yearly Meeting duty was restricted.

In the spring of 1723 Jethro Starbuck and Batchelor Hussey wrote the Quarterly report - and got a first-report (epistle) back in return. Dorcas had written for Women Friends. In the summer Nathaniel Coleman and Stephen Wilcox were selected as representatives - at which time it was noted that the Warwick Meetinghouse had been built. Apparently only Stephen got to Newport (where he had visited at earlier times as a representative from Dartmouth). The Men's Clerk had of course, preceeded him at Yearly Meeting there. No one was listed for the autumn of 1723, though a packet of 63 "stitched" books, copies of Elizabeth (Head) Jacobs "Farewell Exhortation" arrived. Just why this obscure work of an Irish Quakeress was valued is not clear. Jethro Starbuck and John Macy were asked to go to winter Quarterly

Meeting in 1723-24, but there is no record of the trip being teken. Dorcas wrote again at that time as she had in the autumn.

In 1724 no one went to Yearly Meeting, nor is there record of Nantucketers at Quarterly Meeting, though Nathaniel Coleman was asked to go in the summer, when Jethro Starbuck and John Macy wrote a report. It had now become the habit of Quarterly Meeting to print a Message which was distributed probably four times a year. Batchelor Hussey was supposed to take in the autumn Meeting, while Women Friends were content with Dorcas' summer report. That was the year Quarterly Meeting was electrified by the news that King George I himself had sent a "second" missive to free the imprisoned tax officials of Dartmouth, who had refused to collect money for the State Congregational Church - and then disqualified the tax law itself. Dartmouth Monthly Meeting then republished Peter Folger's Looking Glass for the Times which was as cogent in 1724 as in 1676. The town of Dartmouth only built a "town house" in 1737. Until that date Town Meeting apparently alternated between Friends Meetinghouse and the Congregational Church (built 1712).

Nathaniel Starbuck got to Yearly Meeting in 1725 and to the autumn Quarterly Meeting in company with John Coleman Jr., possibly to report the outcome of dealing with Stephen Wilcox, for it would appear that the Men's Clerk had missed sessions of Quarterly Meeting for a dozen years before this visit. Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn also attended that session, and were no doubt closely questioned about how things were going on the Island. Curiously John Macy and Batchelor Hussey had been named to attend the autumn Quarterly Meeting to which the Men's Clerk and head of Meeting actually went. Dorcas had written again in the spring of 1725.

More of the visitors in the second half of this period got their names "spread" in the Monthly Meeting records. To turn

back to 1722 the first visitors so listed were John Fothergill and Lawrence King from York, England, whom the men noted. The former was progenitor of that very prominent Quaker family, and as an outstanding physician kept an informative diary. He had visited Nantucket in 1706. Later in 1722 Moses Aldrich of Mendham )Providence M.M.) was on the Island with Lydia Norton of Hampton and Rose (Austin) Tibbetts on her way back drom a tour of the southern colonies. Aldrich was a frequent visitor in later years in the West Indies, and even made a two year visit in Britain. Lydia got a "returning minute" from the men, having spoken a good deal, according to a contemporary letter written by Nathaniel Starbuck. In this letter the Men's Clerk also compliments his cousin, Rose, and especially Moses Aldrich. It appears Nathaniel had accompanied Fothergill and Lawrence as far as Taunton, returning to Dartmouth that night, to spend it with his sister, Hephzibah Hathaway. The next night was passed at Wood Hole, (at Samuel Barker's?) and he returned to General Meeting and much family visiting with the above noticed Quakers. In addition, Starbuck's letter to Fothergill and Lawrence indicates that John Perry of Newport and Michael Collins, probably of Salem were present. Stephen Wilcox was also on hand and the romance with his cousin Judith Barnard comes in for a somewhat gossipy comment.

Other items of interest have to do with the pirates who captured his son-in-law George Hussey, but took only property, the mainsail and six Indians (two of whom apparently the "gross villians" murdered) - the loss of the 1722 sloop is also noted with six "English" and six Indians drowned (with all but four of the English married men). In the light of all this, Nathaniel rejoiced in the safe arrival of his son Paul from North Carolina, en route to Boston. Concern is also expressed for his nephew

William Starbuck just appearing in the ministry, and for Silvanus Hussey's first wife, who was then critically ill.

Still later in 1722 Robert Jordan, a prominent Virginian Quaker arrived with Obadiah Lawrence of Flushing, Long Island, and also John Kinsey of North Jersey. He had been on the Island last 19 years before, in the pre-Meeting period. All three were noted as receiving certificates from the Men's Meeting. Jordan was destined to move to Philadelphia in a few years, there to marry a rich widow, and become Clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. He was the author of many of the mid-18th century epistles sent out by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In Virginia Jordan was the center of Quaker opposition to paying tithes. Kinsey was speaker of the Legislature of East Jersey from 1718 onwards - obviously a prominent man as well.

According to the much quoted Starbuck letter noted above Daniel Gould and Lydia Gould, his wife, of Newport had made a visit to the Island, though they are not listed in his visitors' book. This would seem to indicate that the record we have is but partial. It may be that half again as many visitors came as are listed for us.

The first recorded visitor in 1723 was John Hussey, brother of Stephen, a fellow member with Kinsey of Woodbridge (later Rahway) M.M., returning after 20 years; at that time he lived in Delaware The General Meeting group in 1723 included Rose Tibbetts and Eliphal Perry (probably of Greenwich M.M.) whom the women noted as being especially helpful. Ephriam Tibbetts Jr., Rose's son, was along, perhaps to visit Ann Starbuck, his sister. Samuel Aldrich, possibly a nephew of minister Moses was present, along with Joseph Wanton the Tiverton shipbuilder, and Jacob Mott, the old favorite. These latter two were concerned unquestionably to see how the "migration" of the town was progressing. They witnessed the opening of a "cent school", which while not Quaker,

replaced that started by the town some seven years before.

Samuel Gaskell, who came on in 1724 for the marriage of his daughter, got a returning minute from Men Friends. Then there appeared Benjamin Kidd from England, a witty poetic Oxfordshire schoolteacher. With him was John Rutledge, a much loved minister pf Middletown M.M. in Bucks County. Four Rhode Island Friends also came along; Dr. Clark Rodman, Daniel Gould Jr., ~~Hannah Rodman~~, ~~and Patience Rodman~~. (son of the man who wrote the early Quaker work, entitled New England judged in the Spirit of the Lord), Hannah Rodman and Patience Rodman. Hannah Rodman was widow of Thomas, the one time Barbadoes physician, and the first Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting. Patience was her unmarried daughter; Clark her son. Once Yearly Meeting was past Capt. Thomas Hathaway produced seven others including his wife, Hephzibah, the minister. Among these were John Bowne Jr., son of the founder of Long Island Quakerism; John Wing Jr., grandson of the founder of Cape Cod Quakerism, cousin of Samuel Barker; Adam Mott Jr., cousin of Jacob Jr. himself from Dartmouth; and Mary Clark wife of James Clark of Jamestown R.I. Deliverance Smith whose brother John Smith of London Grove, Pennsylvania had visited in 1717 also come. Deliverance was master of the Quaker school in Dartmouth, and had recently been imprisoned for refusing to collect taxes for the state church. The occasion for his arrest was brought about by the wry humor of a Dartmouth Friend proposing that the town hire Nathaniel Howland, a leading Quaker Minister as pastor of the local Congregational Church. Howland visited Nantucket himself in 1723, where he may well have reminded the Islanders that his father had been scalped in King Philip's War - long before the Quakers settled in Dartmouth. Finally there was Samuel Collins of Lynn (Salem M.M.) who had been on the Island a decade earlier.

None of these, however, were recorded in the Nantucket minutes nor was Thomas Lightfoot, an elderly Philadelphia Friend, member of Darby Meeting who had gone to the Pennsylvania frontier from England, eight years before. He had obviously borne the marks of a weighty Friend, having been imprisoned for his faith in Ireland, and helped to write the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Book of Descipline in 1719. With him was John Easton Jr., son of the Rhode Island Governor, who had visited the Island a quarter century earlier, and William Barker, who served on the 1708 committee. These Friends finished off the 1724 roster.

1725 brought only nine visitors. Four of these were noted in the Women's Minutes: John Wanton, shipbuilder, with his wife Lydia Wanton; Lydia Norton, of Hampton; Patience Anthony, of Rhode Island; and John Hussey of Woodbridge, N.J. All were old Friends of the Islanders. Ephriam Hicks similarly situated was present but not noted by either Meeting. and Nicholas Davis Jr. of Dartmouth, who counselled with Stephen Wilcox (whose ministry and approach to life did not satisfy the Meeting). And the third time span is finished off by Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn already noticed in connection with Nathaniel Gardner's marriage and the autumn Quarterly Meeting.

Probably the bucaneer who captured George Hussey was Edward Low who began his career off Cape Hatteras in 1714. In 1722 he was lying off Cape Cod, in fact lost all his masts in riding out the autumn hurricane of that year. Apparently he then made for the Cape Verde Islands and to Brazil, where hair-raising tales of his cruelty are recorded. By the summer of 1723 he was again off the Nantucket shoals, where he captured a Nantucket whaler. The captain, Nathan Skiffe (brother of Quakeress Sarah Long) was stripped, beaten, had his ears cut off and then shot through the head. His boat was then scuttled, though a dory

got safely to shore. Apparently two days later Low went beserk and began practising Aztec-type canabalism. Members of his crew whom Low then set adrift were captured and taken to Newport to be hanged. Their dreaded captain met a similar end in 1724 on Martinique. At least one other Nantucket sloop had been taken by Edward Low, while two more of his associates were hanged in Boston in 1724 (and twenty-six others in New York in 1726). Then the backbone of this terrible scourge was broken. Such was the backdrop against which Quaker Nantucket lived out its third period of history.

Despite this, Nantucket whaling burgeoned. In 1720 Nathaniel and Paul Starbuck began selling whale oil in London. In 1723 the Macy brothers built the Straight Wharf. Three years later the catch ran to 86 whales, 11 being caught on one day. Shubael Folger got five, Ebeneezer Gardner got two, while Shubael Coffin, Matthew Jenkins, and George Hussey got three each. Silvanus Hussey got only two. It would appear, notwithstanding, that the lions share went to non-Quaker captains.

Money was easier to come by. Not only was there prosperity, but Nantucket had shared in the £50,000 grant made in 1721 to Massachusetts by the Crown. In fact a wholly Quaker committee was named to decide the Nantucket quota. These were Jethro Starbuck, Stephen Coffin Jr., Samuel Coffin, Batchelor Hussey and Thomas Macy. Four years later Macy was named both Town and County Treasurer. He was, it will be recalled, also Treasurer of the Meeting. Possibly New York Colony felt it should share in the Crown grant of money, for in 1723, the town wrote New York to explain its constitutional situation clearly. At the same time the Massachusetts Government began to enquire seriously into the question of Indian litigation on the Island. In 1722 Chief Justice Samuel Sewall had written Jethro Starbuck on the subject,

and as late as in 1727 a legislative committee from Boston was making enquiries in this regard on the Island.

Among the Quakers listed as having gone to law with the Indians were Joseph Marshall (1721, 1722 - twice), Stephen Wilcox (1723), Matthew Jenkins (1723), George Brown (1723) and Thomas Macy (1724). The latter got an Indian "bound over" to him for seven years for the loss of 36 sticks of whalebone. Macy must have been affluent as he offered collateral for the opening of the first public inn next to the Great Harbor in 1721. The following year a Dr. John Patterson appeared to become the second resident doctor on the Island - arriving from Newport. Benjamin Barney, the Quaker, who similarly came on, set up the first tailor shop in 1723. Samuel Barker was listed the year before as a bricklayer, though his residency was Woods Hole, it will be recalled.

Other indications that the town was having to face increasingly the problems of urbanization lay in the law case to prosecute youths who opened the Jail in 1723: in another whereby Andrew Gardner, Quaker son of minister Nathaniel, was condemned for fighting with George Newbegin in 1725; and surprisingly enough when in 1725 Daniel Folger, Quaker blacksmith, got conviction of Thomas Macy and Ebeneezer Gardner for fraud regarding whale shares. This latter is extraordinary as Quakers were forbidden by the discipline to sue fellow members. Daniel Folger was a slaveowner and perhaps not an active member - which may explain something. However, the really difficult law case was that initiated in 1723 by George Hussey, Silvanus Hussey and Thomas Macy as agents of the Proprietary to evict squatters in the new "urban" area. This followed upon a decision taken in 1722 to re-allocate all "butts and bounds" of all house-lots. Some 120 such were formally surveyed. This case was lost and so appealed

to Boston. But as in 1725 the case was not prosecuted, the Supreme Court of Judicature asked Hussey and his associates to pay costs. This appeal no doubt, hinged on the Coffin - Starbuck land monopoly. Perhaps the untimely death of Stephen Coffin stopped matters. Possibly the plaintiffs learned from New York something regarding the failure of Tristram Coffin in registering a vital deed which he had had drawn in 1664. In 1716 and in 1723 the town officials tried unsaccessfully to procure documents from New York having bearing on Island arrangements, when Nantucket had been a part of that colony. Whatever the reason it was only thirteen years later that the case was revived to sound anew an "alarum" on the Island. Obviously in 1723 the Husseys were not enemies of the "Establishment" as Stephen had been five years earlier. In any case it was agreed from 1725 on that Nantucket would be guaranteed direct access to the highest judicial tribunal in Massachusetts.

The migration to the present site of Nantucket town was beginning to make a recognizable village. Main Street had beem laid out in 1697; that is the year before the first Quakers arrived. From 1726 onwards its main artery south was Orange Street, in memory of the Dutch monarch. Nathaniel Starbuck moved his residence in 1726 to a spot half way between Orange St. and the Pinkham residence. Three years earlier Thomas Macy had moved to what is the corner of Walnut Lane and Liberty Street, north of Main Street. At the foot of South Mill St. toward the end of Orange Street stands the house built in 1720 by Jonathan Folger. In fact he anticipated the moving of the town. Similarly on Bear Street is to be found George Hussey's residence also built about 1720, probably slightly later. Thomas Clark's house probably built about 1717 was moved in 1725 to its present site at the west end of Farmer Street, near Pine. A similar number

of houses may be indentified as belonging to non-Quakers. Probably the total here involved represents but a handful of the dwellings in movement - many of which stand where they went in the 1720s. There now remains the task of noting what happened from 1725 to 1728, when the Meeting observed its 20th anniversary. Before doing this, however, account must be taken of the building in 1722 of the Elihu Coleman house, the only dwelling still left standing at the old Capaum location. It shows distinct development from the half-timber style of the Sunset Hill dwelling; but still primitive when compared to the Georgian type dwelling of a generation later. About it clings the nostalgia of the age which this period saw come to an end.

## CHAPTER 14.

## TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILIES V AND VI

### THE WILLIAM BUNKERS

### 1723

William Bunker, 1650-1712, the first male of this name, came to Nantucket with four sisters, and their mother, who had remarried into the Swain family in 1661. Thus William's step-brother turns out to have been the first Nantucket Quaker. This influence did not rub off, however, on William or his sisters. Eight years later William set up his own home by marrying Mary (Macy) Bunker, 1648-1729, daughter of the first Macy. To them were born ten children, half of whom bacame Quakers and active Friends; but this in no way affected either William or Mary. It will be recalled that Mary (Bunker) Coffin and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, two of William's sisters were rigid Puritans. Probably Jane (Godfrey) Bunker-Swain, 1625-1662, their mother had been such. Possibly William was also. Certainly another sister, Elizabeth (Bunker) Look, married a Vineyard Puritan Thomas Look Jr. (though one of their daughters was, Experience (Look) Coffin, a concerned Quaker elder). The last sister, Anne (Bunker) Coleman, left but one daughter - whose children were in part Quaker. But this is not surprising two generations later. As has been shown, both Mary and Martha

had Quaker children! To summarize, the William Bunkers were pro-Puritan, but not as rigidly as were the John Gardners nor the Coffins of Sunset Hill.

During the troubled years of the 1670s William Bunker probably lined up with his father-in-law, which was in effect to straddle issues. He probably got on with raising sheep - and children. These last were as follows: George Bunker, 1671-1743, named for his grandfather, one-time owner of Bunker Hill (north of Boston). George Jr. married a non-Quaker daughter of Magistrate James Coffin, and they limited their family to three children - probably evidence of affluence. The eldest of these was Capt. Daniel Bunker, 1696-1746, who married Priscilla (Swain) Bunker, 1702-1737, out of Meeting in 1717. She was a grand-daughter of the original Nantucket Friend. They had five children raised Quakers before her early death, whereupon Daniel "married out", choosing a non-Quaker Coffin who was already widowed, in 1741. Five years later he was lost at sea. This household was tenously Quaker - probably fashionable in orientation and well to do. Daniel's two brothers married sturdy Puritans.

The second child in William's family was John Bunker, 1673-1721, bachelor mariner, lost with three of his brothers in the terrible Bunker shipwreck of 1721. The second lost at that time was Jonathan Bunker, 1676-1721, likewise non-Quaker, who married another daughter of Magistrate James Coffin (as had his eldest brother George). But in this case, Elizabeth (Bunker) Coffin, 1681-1750, later Clark, was close to her Quaker sister Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, and therefore joined Meeting, and raised her nine children according to the Quaker discipline. The first four of these were males as follows: Zachariah Bunker, 1695-1757, who married Desire (Gorham) Bunker, 1710-1801, in 1728 on the Cape, but later returned to Nantucket. They had

nine children: Simeon Bunker, 1696-1751, who wed Huldah (Hussey) Bunker, 1715- ? , daughter of Batchelor, in 1734, and had but two children; George Bunker, 1698-1740, lost at sea, soon after marrying (1738), Abigail (Worth) Bunker, 1721-1788, daughter of Joseph; and finally James Bunker, 1699- ? , who married Bethiah (Jenkins) BUNKER, 1719-1749, daughter of Matthew, in 1737. They had five children. Eventually he emigrated. Then came the five females as follows now: Lydia (Bunker) Coffin, 1700-1785, who wed Nathan Coffin, 1696-1768, out of Meeting. They had ten children, of whom at least two joined Meeting; Ruth (Bunker) Coffin, 1702-1779, who married Richard Coffin, 1694-1768, a grandson of Magistrate James - out of Meeting - but the family became active members. There were 12 children: Patience (Bunker) Gardner, 1705-1794, who married Jonathan Gardner, 1696-1777, similarly, in 1723. He was a son of James "the scoffer". They had ten children: Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, 1706-1799, married to John Pinkham, son of Jonathan, out of Meeting, in 1727; and finally Judith(Bunker) Coffin, 1708- ? , who married Alexander Coffin, son of Ebeneezer, out of Meeting, in 1737. Certainly one of their children came into the Meeting. There were thus at least 41 Quaker grandchildren of William Bunker by his third son, considerably more than the five by his eldest son.

The fourth of the family was also a son, Peleg Bunker, 1676-1730. He married his maternal cousin, a daughter of land-owner Stephen Coffin, and stayed away from Meeting. He had six children, before going to a watery death. Two of these did join Meeting: Mary (Bunker) Barnard, ~~1710~~ 1707-1750, who wed Timothy Barnard, 1712-1749, son of Benjamin in 1732. They had six children: and Jonathan Bunker,1709-1788, who married Judith (Macy) Bunker, 1721-1799, in Meeting in 1742. They had eight children. There were thus 14 Quaker grandchildren from the fourth son.

The fifth son was Capt. Jabez Bunker, 1678-1750, selectman, charter member, elder and dynamic Quaker par excellence, son-in-law of minister Nathaniel Gardner, by marrying elder Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, 1686-1773, in 1706. He was in fact cousin and peer to Judith Wilcox and to Capt. Silvanus Hussey - through his Non- Quaker aunts Mary and Martha. They had eight children, all active Friends. The eldest Naomi (Bunker) Paddack, 1709-1792, wed Eliphalet Paddack, 1700-1773, son of Joseph on the Cape, in 1726. They had eight children. The next was Samuel Bunker, 1711-1786, overseer, who chose Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker, 1713-1797, daughter of John and minister Priscilla. She was also an overseer. They married in 1731 and had 11 children. Paul Bunker, 1713-1795, was the third. His wife was Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, 1720-1788, daughter of Samuel. They wed in 1736 and had six children. The fourth Abner Bunker, 1719-1780, never married and after his parents' death, lived with the fifth, Benjamin Bunker, 1721-1788, who married Abigail (Worth) Bunker, 1721-1788, daughter of Joseph, in 1743. They had but four children. The sixth was a girl Hannah (Bunker) Coffin, 1723-1806, who married a Puritan Coffin, when already an old maid, out of Meeting, as his second wife. Peter Bunker, the seventh, 1725-1755, was lost at sea. But six years before, in 1749, he had married Judith (Gardner) Bunker, 1726-1758, who bore him two children. She was daughter to Jethro. The youngest, Peleg Bunker, 1727-1806 married Lydia (Worth) Bunker, 1731-1776, sister of his brother Benjamin's wife, in 1749. They probably had 10 children. There were apparently 41 grandchildren of Jabez and great-grandchildren of William in this grouping.

Jabez' next brother was Thomas Bunker, 1680-1721, still another victim of the great Bunker shipwreck. He was apparently childless being married to a Non-Quaker Arthur. His next brother

also perished in the Bunker tragedy. He was Benjamin Bunker, Quaker, 1683-1721, who wed in Yarmouth Meeting, Deborah (Paddack) Bunker, 1689-1750, aunt of Eliphalet Paddack in 1709. They had five children, as follows: Reuben Bunker, 1710-1790, who married Mary (Chase) Bunker, 1710-1795, daughter of Abraham, out of Meeting; Obed Bunker, 1714-1743, who chose Mary (Duane) Bunker, 1715-1756, from off-Island, in another Meeting. They had four children. The third David Bunker, 1716-1755, did marry in Meeting, selecting Elizabeth (Gorham) Bunker, 1718-1772, daughter of Stephen, in 1740. They had six children. The fourth of the five brothers was Nathaniel Bunker, 1718-1799, but made his home after his mother's death (for both his father and uncle Obed were lost at sea early on) with his last brother Thomas Bunker, 1719-1785, who wed Anna (Swain) Bunker, 1724-1780, in 1741. They had nine children, the eldest of whom cared for his uncle Nathaniel for the last fourteen years of his life. There were 18 Quaker grandchildren in this grouping.

There then followed three Quaker sisters of Jabez and Benjamin. Mary (Bunker) Coffin, 1685- ? , Ann (Bunker) Paddack, 1686-1741, and Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, 1689-1776. They were all elders (as was Jabez). Their husbands were respectively Tristram Coffin of Edgartown, Nathaniel Paddack from the Cape, and Shubael Pinkham, the first of his name to come among Friends. William Bunker had 11 Coffin grandchildren, who were Quakers in this grouping; 8 Paddacks and 9 Pinkhams. Thus this Bunker family counted 138 (if the same standard is followed in checking the Starbuck and other families cited in this periodic series). Of the 25 marriages in the third generation only four were with off-Islanders. There were 15 men Friends and 13 women Friends appointed to handle the Quaker unions in this family; Benjamin Barney was called on five times and William Starbuck, four.

Hannah Bunker, Ann Paddack, Judith Macy and Judith Barnard each served three times. Ann Paddack and Abigail Pinkham seemed to be the only Bunker-born appointees.

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## THE RICHARD GARDNERS

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1723

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Capt. Richard Gardner, 1631-1688, arrived on Nantucket in 1667 to institute regular sloop service to the mainland; bringing his wife, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, 1632-1724, and seven children, only one of whom was aged 15, and thus considered to be an adult, according to 17th century standards. One of these children died and three others were born on the Island. Sarah was the original New England Quakeress, but only one of her own children followed her faith. The Gardners were of Puritan stock, having lived on Cape Ann for forty years. Richard and Sarah were married in 1652, four years before the first Quakers appeared.

The first of this family, the 15-year old, was Joseph Gardmer, 1652-1701, married Bethiah (Macy) Gardner, 1650-1732. He His strong Puritan inheritance kept them out of Meeting, though three of their six daughters "threw back" to their paternal grandmother. The eldest, Sarah (Gardner) Paddack, 1672-1750, was one of these Quakers. She married Joseph Paddack, 1670-1732, Quaker brother of the man who introduced whaling on Nantucket in 1690. They were married in Yarmouth Meeting six years later, and lived on the Cape. Three of their children later married back on to Nantucket. The second, Damaris (Gardner)

Barnard, 1674-1696, married Stephen Barnard, 1674-1748, in 1694, as his first wife. They had no children. The third, Bethiah (Gardner) Folger, 1676-1716 wed Eleazer Folger Jr., 1672-1753, ~~in Meeting~~, as his first wife. They had three sons, the youngest of whom became a Friend. The fourth Hope (Gardner) Coffin, 1683-1750, chose Peter Coffin, 1671-1749, son of John of Edgartown, in 1696, to become his second wife. They had eight children, half of whom joined Meeting. The fifth, Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, 1686-1761, married Matthew Jenkins, 1691-1758, also of Edgartown, in 1706, but lived on Nantucket. Both were strong Quaker elders. They had seven children all raised in the Meeting. And the sixth, Abiel (Gardner) Clasby, ~~1688~~ 1691-1756, with William Clasby, 1690-1779, from England (married 1719), started that family on the Island. They had eight children. These two alone married under the care of Nantucket Meeting. There were 31 grandchildren on the islands from Joseph's family, of whom 23 were Quakers. There was no son to carry on this branch of the family. The second of Capt. Richard's children was a daughter, Sarah (Gardner) Folger, 1652-1729, who married the schoolteacher, Eleazer Folger Sr, 1648-1716, and raised five children, only one of whom came among Friends.

The third of Richard and Sarah's brood was Capt. Richard Gardner Jr., 1653-1728, who married Mary (Austin) Gardner, 1655-1721, in 1674, before her parents became Friends in Dover N.H. Mary was a nominal member of Nantucket Meeting. They had eight children, only one of whom entered the Meeting. The eldest, Joseph Gardner, 1677-1747, married Ruth (Coffin) Gardner, 1685-1748, daughter of Magistrate James, in 1705. Only one of their seven children joined Friends. The second, Soloman Gardner, 1680-1760, was the first of this family to come under strong Quaker influence. He married Anna (Coffin) Gardner, 1685-1740,

daughter of minister Stephen Jr., in 1705, joined Friends and raised their ten children as Quakers. The third, Benjamin Gardner, 1683-1764, wed Hannah (Coffin) Gardner, 1679-1768, daughter of John of Edgartown in 1703. They had three children one of whom joined Meeting. The fifth, Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, 1685-1750, married Samuel Coffin, 1680-1783, also son of John of Edgartown in 1705. Both came among Friends about that time. They had eight Quaker children. The sixth was Peter Gardner, 1686-1767, who married still a third child of John Coffin of Edgartown, by name, Elizabeth (Coffin) Gardner, 1682-1778, in 1708. None of their five children were interested in Quakerism. The fifth, Lydia (Gardner) Coffin, 1687-1788, married John Coffin, 1687-1768, of Sunset Hill, in 1705. Naturally none of their eight children were inclined towards Quakerism. The sixth, Richard ~~Gardner, Third~~ Gardner, Third, 1689-1724, wed Leah (Folger) Gardner, 1701-?, in 1719. They were childless. She lived to marry one of the Paddacks of Cape Cod (descended from the Joseph Gardnnr house) and became a leading elder in the Meeting. Her father was Nathan Folger, son of schoolteacher Eleazer. The eighth and last was William Gardner, 1691-1739, who married a widow, Hephzibah (Gardner) Gardner-Gardner, 1696-1742, in 1719, daughter of Congregationalist George, and widow of Peleg, Quaker minister ~~Benjamin~~ Nathaniel's son. They had no children. Thus the tally of grandchildren in the Richard Jr. house ran as follows: twenty Quakers; twenty-two non-Quakers; total 42. Despite a Quaker grandmother this house was proportionately less Quaker than the senior Joseph house.

The fourth of Sarah Shattuck's children was Deborah (Gardner) Macy, 1658-1696, who married John Macy, 1655-1691, in 1674. They had eight children all of whom became Friends. They were raised by their Quaker grandmother as her faith was "activated"

on the Island. After John's death Deborah remarried, Stephen Pease, 1655-1700, in 1693, grandson of the first of his name on the Vineyard. They had two children, one of whom joined Meeting.

The fifth of the prolific family was the much married James Gardner, 1664-1723, who first wed Mary (Starbuck) Gardner, 1663-1699, daughter of the Great Mary, in 1691. They had six children, all raised Quakers. After Mary's death, James remarried Rachel (Gardner) Brown-Gardner, 1671-1705, daughter of the anti-Quaker, Capt. John, and widow of John, Third, in 1699. They had one child naturally non-Quaker. Then in 1710, James married Patience (Harker) Gardner, 1686-1718, daughter of Ebeneezer, also a Puritan. They had no children. Then finally he married Mary (Coffin) Pinkham-Gardner, 1663-1741, in 1720. She was a daughter of Magistrate James, and widow of Richard Pinkham, the first of his name on the Island. In turning to James' children, the eldest Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, 1691-1763, married Stephen Gorham, 1685-1770, Quaker from Yarmouth in their Meetinghouse in XXXXXXXXX, 1704, (when she was hardly 14 years old). They raised ten Quaker children. The second was Samuel Gardner, 1690-1708, in 1707, when they came among Friends and she died. Her father was Stephen Coffin Jr. There were no children. Samuel then remarried in 1710, in Meeting, Patience (Swain) Gardner, 1683-1746, the only Quaker child of minister John. They raised five children. After Patience ' death, Samuel remarried Mary (Swett) Swain-Gardner, 1689-1751, in 1748. She was a daughter of Moses, and widow of John Swain Jr. The third child was overseer Jethro Gardner, 1693-1734, who married in Meeting in 1716, Kezia (Folger) Gardner, XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 1699-1749, daughter of Judith Wilcox, who later became the second wife of Paul Starbuck. They raised seven Quaker children. The fourth child was

ELDER, 1692-1757, WHO MARRIED FIRST HEPHZIBAH (COFFIN) GARDNER

Barnabas Gardner, elder, 1695-~~176~~ 1768, who married Mary (Wheeler) Gardner, 1699-1788, probably under the care of Salem M.M. in 1718. They raised ten Quaker children. The fifth child was also an elder, Jonathan Gardner, 1696-1777, who wed Patience (Bunker) Gardner, 1705-1794, out-of-Meeting, in 1723, but they also raised ten Quaker children. The sixth child was Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard, 1699-1777, who was both a minister and clerk to the Women's Meeting. She married Philip Pollard, 1695-1764, a Quaker (later overseer) from England in Meeting in 1724. They raised four Quaker children. Finally there was the seventh, the half-brother, James Gardner Jr., 1703-1776, who married in 1724 a non-Quaker daughter of minister Nathaniel. She was Susannah (Gardner) Gardner, 1706-1781; they had at least one Quaker child of a fair number of children. There were 47 Quaker grandchildren in this branch of a probable total of 60 or so. In other words the James family, which was essentially Starbuck-Coffin dominated, turned out to be chiefly Quaker.

The sixth of Capt. Richard's family was Miriam (Gardner) Worth, 1666-1702, who married John Worth, 1665-1731, the second of that name on the Island. They had eight children, four of whom came into the Meeting - but not their parents.

The seventh was the favorite, Capt. Nathaniel Gardner, 1669-1714, who joined the Meeting as a charter member and became a Quaker minister. He married Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, 1667-1709, daughter of Magistrate James, in 1686. She did not come among Friends, but six of their nine children did so. The eldest of these was elder Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, 1686-1773, who married Jabez Bunker, 1678-1750, also an elder, in 1706, and joined Meeting at that time. They raised eight Quaker children. The next was Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner, 1688-1763, whose was the first Quaker wedding on Nantucket to Eunice (Coffin)

Gardner, 1693-1718, orphan granddaughter of Judge Peter Coffin, in 1709. They had four Quaker children before her early death. In 1719 he remarried out of Meeting, Judith (Coffin) Gardner, 1700-1788, daughter of John (granddaughter of Magistrate James). There were seven more children in this household, only two of whom joined Meeting. The third was Peleg Gardner, 1691-1718, who married Hephzibeth (Gardner) Gardner, 1696-1742, daughter of Congregationalist George, in 1714, but had no children. The fourth was a daughter, Judith (Gardner) Barnard, 1693-1765, Quaker elder, who married Benjamin Barnard, ~~1693-1765, Quaker~~ 1681-1729, in 1711 in Meeting. Benjamin was a grandson of the original Barnard. They raised seven Quaker children. The fifth was Margaret (Gardner) Folger, 1695-1727, who wed blacksmith Jonathan Folger, 1696-1777, an overseer, in Meeting in 1717. They raised five Quaker children. The sixth was Nathaniel Gardner Jr., 1697-1727, who wed Mary (Folger) Gardner, 1705-1763, daughter of Judith Wilcox, in Meeting in 1725. After his death she remarried minister Nathaniel Coleman. There were two Quaker children by the first marriage. The seventh was Andrew Gardner, 1699-1782, who married Mary (Gorham) Gardner, 1704-1780, from Yarmouth in Meeting in 1721. They brought twelve Quaker children into Nantucket Meeting. The eighth was Abel Gardner, 1702-1771 who wed Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, daughter of James Coffin Jr. in 1723. They also had twelve children, but non-Quakers. Finally there was the ninth, Susanna (Gardner) Gardner, 1706-1781, who married James Gardner, Third, 1703-1776, in 1724, and whose children have been noted under the James Gardner house. Thus leaving them out, the total of grandchildren in the Nathaniel house comes to 66, of whom 23 were non-Quakers, and 43 in the Meeting. Obviously minister Nathaniel's influence was the most important in this branch.

The eighth of the children of the first Quakeress was Hope (Gardner) Coffin, 1669-1750, who married John Coffin, 1672-1747, son of Magistrate James. Only one of their five children came into the Meeting.

Lastly the ninth Love (Gardner) Coffin, 1672-1691, brought about the third marriage into Magistrate James' family by accepting James Coffin Jr., 1664-1741, she, however, died young without children, so that James Jr. remarried directly. Thus the total of Gardner great grandchildren as calculated in this chapter runs to about 200, of whom 133 were Quakers, and 67 were non-Quaker. Thus again Sarah Shattuck's influence prevailed. The total family, including second generation in-laws, runs to 286, not far off double the Bunker family: which had six sons as compared to the four in this enormous family. Of the 43 marriages involved, only three were with off-Islanders. Relatively few of these marriages took place in Meeting so that ten men and ten women handled the enquiries involved. Jethro Starbuck and Priscilla Coleman each looked after six, while Stephen Coffin Jr. looked into five, and Dorcas Starbuck four. Only once did a Gardner act similarly, in the figure of Judith (Gardner) Barnard. Clearly the Gardners played a minor role in running the Meeting in the early years. Six of the 32 marriages in the third generation were with off-Islanders.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 15.

THE SEVENTH THREE YEARS, 1725 - 1727

From 1725 to 1728 Nantucket Monthly Meeting was forced to share its monopoly of formal religion with the Congregationalists whose pastor, Timothy White, had married Susannah Gardner, daughter of John Jr. of Boston and was thus niece to George Gardner, one of the principal Puritans on the Island. They had but limited success it must be stressed during the period under scrutiny, for they achieved no baptisms nor admissions into membership. Probably attendance ran under twenty-five adults, while Friends must have exceeded their numbers four times over. White did not appreciate his situation for in a letter of his dated 1731 he complains of being surrounded by a "numerous body of hereticks". The phrase speaks volumes. In contrast to this may be placed Nathaniel Starbuck's comment in a letter of 1722 in which he speaks of thankfulness for favors to the Island Quaker community "far beyond what might have been asked for or expected".

Not least of these was a marriage of great importance to the Quaker community, held early in 1726. Damaris (Gayer) Coffin's third son, Benjamin Coffin, wed Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Batchelor (who proved to be the original Nantucket "birthright" Friend). She was a spirited girl who had set her heart on the man who would in time open the first Quaker school

and first bank on the Island. William Starbuck and Nathaniel Coleman, Quaker minister cousins, acted for the Men's Meeting. Dorcas Starbuck and Sarah Macy did likewise for Women Friends. Benjamin and Jeddidah had their lives together for 33 years, when she died and he remarried. There were 12 children in the family, some dying young. Then no less than seven other marriages followed during the year. Twice two couples appeared together. There was Robert Barnard, son of overseer Sarah (Macy) Barnard, with Hephzibah Coffin, daughter of the recently deceased Stephen Coffin, both destined to become strong Quaker elders. With them were Jacob Barney of Newport and Dorcas Barnard, step-daughter of Judith Wilcox, who were destined to leave the Island directly. The Jacob Barney residence was important in Newport in future years as a center for entertaining Nantucket visitors at Quarterly and Yearly Meeting, and as a commercial link in the developing whaling industry. Jabez Macy and Nathaniel Coleman looked after the men, while Abigail Hussey and Mary (Starbuck) Folger were given care of the distaff side. As Robert Barnard went whaling, the Barney marriage preceeded his by four months. Robert and Hephzibah entered into a marriage of 39 years duration during which time they were blessed with 11 children. Late in the summer, Eliphalet Paddack, son of Joseph of Cape Cod, and Naomi Bunker, daughter of Jabez, appeared. Richard Macy and William Clasby were the new appointees, while the women rallied with Judith Wilcox and as before, Mary Folger. Eliphalet and Naomi lived together 47 years and had eight children. Before they could be married two other couples came forward. First there was Thomas Starbuck, second son of Jethro and Dorcas, who chose Rachel Allen, daughter of Edward Allen, and cousin to the Colemans. Jabez Bunker and Jethro Gardner were named to marriage service,

while Women Friends kept to Judith and Mary as before. A month later Matthew Barnard, Robert's brother spoke for himself and Mary Tibbets, Ann Starbuck's sister. Both Men's and Women's Committees stayed as they had been for the Thomas Starbucks. Thomas and Rachel's marriage lasted 51 years, and was blessed with seven children, while that for Matthew and Mary achieved the record of 59 years and eleven children. Before the Matthew Barnard ceremony took place the second duo appeared. These were Caleb Swain, cousin of the wayward William, and Margaret Paddack of Yarmouth, sister to Eliphalet (whose mother it will be recalled was a Gardner): also Daniel Paddack, eldest son of Nathaniel and Ann (Bunker) Paddack (cousin of Eliphalet), and Susannah Gorham, daughter of Stephen Gorham and ~~Miki~~ Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, who had moved back to the Cape about 1720 (as Nathaniel Starbuck had observed at Elizabeth Gorham's visit to central Meeting on the Island in 1722). In any case a letter of permission was presented for Susanna from her parents (none for Mary Tibbetts!). Samuel Gardner and William Clasby were asked to sit with the lads, while Women Friends stuck to their, by now usual, 1726 appointees. Daniel's marriage occurred a week before that of Caleb Swain. Caleb's wedding in fact occurred just before the final marriage request of 1726 was made. Caleb and Margaret also achieved the record of 59 years of married life - with ten offspring. Daniel and Susannah were married only 16 years when he was lost at sea, and Susannah then remarried. She had seven fatherless children to care for. The last wedding was for "the" William Swain who chose "the" Jemima Coffin (whom the Meeting had disappointed in 1722). John Coleman and Batchelor Hussey, two strong committee Friends appeared, to join Judith Wilcox and Abigail Hussey in seeing that matters were well in order. They were married early in 1727; in fact they

were the last couple married in the first twenty year period. 1726 had witnessed a true "marriage mill" by all counts. One curious detail as regards Jemima Swain; upon her marriage she revoked her previous last will and testament - the first for a woman recorded on Nantucket. This fact was noted in the probate records of 1756, though she did not die till a decade later. William and Jemima lived together 39 years. They had, however, only three children. These nine marriages (1725-1728 period) produced 52 Quaker children. In 20 years the figure had risen to 41 marriages and 224 children. It should be pointed out that a fair company of couples who had married out-of-Meeting decided to raise Quaker families. To these must be added children of couples long since declared to be Friends. About 160 children were born to Quaker members in the 1708-1728 period, some of whom had already "come of age" in the 18th century sense, and were thus enrolled as members. There was this potential source of membership to be considered at all times - perhaps the main source for enlarging Nantucket Quakerism.

A glance at the composition of the marriage committees for 1726-1727 reveals some new names despite the "1726 tendency", especially in the Women's Meeting, William Starbuck was starting on his 26 candidates. Mary Folger began on her 20. Richard Macy would serve only twice, while William Clasby would be asked six times. Jethro Gardner acted only the two times here cited; as did Samuel Gardner. In any case there were the 41 marriages during the first twenty years, of which 11 occurred in the short three years after the Puritans built their Meeting-house. Counting deaths and removals, 35 of these marriages provided secure additions to the 10 original couples still associated with the Meeting 20 years after 1708. At least 20 of the marriages involved some sort of off-Island connection.

The men who thus moved on to the Island came as follows: two from old England, one from Plymouth, one from Mendon (Providence M.M.) and five from (significantly) Newport. The women derived, one from Martha's Vineyard, three from Cape Cod, one from Plymouth, one from Salem, one from Amesbury (Hampton M.M.) and two from Dover (N.H.).

Concerns during the year 1726 centered on helping support the Quaker officials of Tiverton and Dartmouth, who had been arrested for refusing to collect taxes levied to pay the salaries of the Puritan ministers in those towns. Twelve pounds were sent off directly, and again later in the year more, though this was also to help Dartmouth Friends with costs of transporting visitors and to assist Providence Friends build their Meeting-house. This in itself was also a second collection it will be recalled. Perhaps the London epistle which was read exceptionally also threw light on recommended books, in any case in 1727, thirty copies of Barclay's Apology were received and distributed, (though not necessarily the British edition). That year fifteen pounds were sent to aid Capt. Thomas Hathaway, whose house in Dartmouth had burned. An earthquake of some proportions worried the Puritans of New England, at least, in the autumn of 1727. Samuel Bownas, who was perhaps the most famous of British traveling Friends, noted in his Journal that this quake sounded like a cart loaded with stones crossing a causeway. Incidentally of the twenty or so British Friends to visit America in the thirty years between 1698 and 1728 only two or so missed Nantucket.

Some fourteen more visitors arrived during the two score months preceeding Yearly Meeting time in 1728. For the Yearly Meeting in 1726 came Margaret Preston, of Philadelphia, that much travelled second wife of Samuel Preston, who having emigrated with Josiah Langdale, her first husband, from Yorkshire in 1723

founded a second household. With her was Ann (Rodman) Richardson, daughter of Dr. Thomas Rodman, the first Y.M. Clerk in New England. A bit later John Tucker, the great Quaker landowner of Dartmouth arrived - having fought off Puritan attacks on his property in the Elizabeth Islands (Martha's Vineyard). Tucker was the founder of Apponegansett Meeting. His descendants are still active in the Society of Friends in the area - and still carry his name. With him was William Barker (fifth visit) and William Anthony, well known visitors from Newport. They were followed by Abigail Bowles, an Irish ministering Friend, who brought Grace Lloyd, elder and gracious hostess of Philadelphia as companion. She was in turn wife of Thomas Lloyd, who represented the Penn family interests and was Jane Fenn's "mistress".

In 1727 at Yearly Meeting on Nantucket, William Piggott, of Ratcliffe Meeting, London (later of North Carolina) was the main attraction. With him came James Lord, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, a friend of Thomas Chalkley's. Abraham Chase of Swansea was also along. Later in the year Rose Tibbetts (sixth visit) appeared with Mary Dow and Sarah Varney also of Dover; the former probably to see her recently married daughter, Mary Barnard. Rose was again on hand for the General Meeting in 1728, this making her eighth recorded trip. Mary Dow lives in history as one of those New Hampshire pioneers who refused to take refuge in a stockade, during an Indian uprising and lived to vindicate her trust.

The most impressive visitor in 1727, however, was Samuel Bownas, author of the Qualifications of a Gospel Minister, probably the most eminent Quaker of his time. It will be recalled that he had visited Nantucket twenty-two years before, even then to encourage the great Mary Starbuck in her budding ministry. Now he proposed the establishment of a regular gathering of

ministers and elders to strengthen the spoken word a generation later. His journal would seem to indicate that his proposition was acceptable. In fact a year later this was done, at the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Monthly Meeting, such a group was constituted. The so-called "morning" select Meeting, gathering on Monthly Meeting day but, two hours earlier - in fact the Monthly Meeting hour was pushed forward. Ministers and elders met in the home of Nathaniel Starbuck, who served naturally as their Clerk, four times a year, just preceeding Quarterly Meeting. Incidentally neither the morning meeting nor the men's preparative business Meeting kept formal minutes.

The visiting committee (or overseers) became active during the year 1727, making the first of its regular annual reports early in 1728. Its origins run back to 1719 when Barnabas Starbuck, then treasurer, asked for help in visiting all the Quaker families on the Island. This committee was on hand to receive an official delegation from the legislature in Boston to investigate Indian affairs and see how a tithe -free community could operate. Apparently the following were members of the select Meeting when it was set up in 1728: Nathaniel Starbuck, minister and clerk; Ministers; William Starbuck, Nathaniel Coleman, Elihu Coleman, Joseph Marshall, Stephen Wilcox, Mehitable Pollard, Hephzibah Hussey, Priscilla Coleman; Elders; Paul Starbuck, Jethro Starbuck, John Coleman, Jethro Gardner, Robert Barnard, John Macy, Thomas Clark, Dorcas Starbuck, Damaris Coffin, Dinah Starbuck, Mary Folger, Judith Wilcox, Anna Starbuck, Experience Coffin, Mary Coffin of Edgartown, Anna Trott and Sarah Barnard. There were a total of 26 of whom 9 were ministers (6 men, 3 women) and 19 were elders (7 men and 12 women). Exactly half were distaff when the total group met. This 26 were to care for the spiritual needs of a membership of 183

adults, and even more children.

At General Meeting in 1728, Rowland Wilson of Great Strickland Monthly Meeting in Britain was present, and with him Susannah Morris and Mary Foulke of Philadelphia (who received returning minutes). Susannah Morris was the wife of Morris Morris, who in turn had emigrated from England, and was a member of Richland M.M. on the Pennsylvania Frontier. Shipwrecked on her way to Nantucket, Susannah was due to suffer and survive this type of adventure twice more - once in Ireland - once in Holland. Mary Foulke, wife of Judah Foulke was, as might be expected, a member of the "Welsh" Gwyneed M.M. During the thirty years after 1698, about 180 visits were recorded or an average of six per year. About 135 Friends made the visits, of whom 100 were men and 35 women, that is roughly four men and two men for each year. By contrast only some 20 American Friends visited Europe during this period - one of whom came from Nantucket.

Responsibility for attendance at Yearly and Quarterly Meetings in Newport (and Portsmouth) continued erratically. Nathaniel Starbuck attended the superior body only in 1726, though he was chosen to attend summer Quarterly Meeting in 1728 - this time he was accompanied by William Clasby, a new appointee. Early in 1726 Nathaniel had joined his nephew Nathaniel Coleman in writing the spring quarterly report, and in the summer the men's Clerk served with Richard Macy. Then early in 1727, ~~when Jethro Starbuck~~ Nathaniel Coleman wrote the report with Jethro Starbuck. Apparently no one went to Quarterly Meeting till summer 1727, when Jethro was asked to go with Batchelor Hussey. The latter, it would appear, did get there, when the Hathaway fire was mentioned, and Samuel Bownas was present to observe how tremendously Quakerism had developed in America

in his lifetime. In the winter Nathaniel Starbuck wrote the Nantucket report in company with John Macy, and in the spring of 1728 it was Nathaniel Coleman who helped his uncle get the account written. The impression to be gained is that though Nathaniel did not go any more frequently to Quarterly Meeting, he was more active in assuring that adequate documentation was sent to Newport.

During this fourth period Dorcas Starbuck wrote reports in the spring and winter of 1726, the spring of 1727, and the summer of 1728. Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey was allowed to compose the autumn epistle of 1726, while Dinah Starbuck took on the spring reporting in 1728. At the General Meeting in 1727 returning minutes were given to Rose Tibbetts, Mary Dow, and Sarah Varney, (who was probably a step grand-daughter of the original Quaker minister of that name). A year later note was taken of an especially good series of Meetings and of the presence of Susannah Morris, Mary Foulke and the usual "cousin" Rose. No especially marked concern seems to have arisen during these years in the Women's Meeting.

The town meanwhile had run smoothly under the eagle eye of the men's clerk. In 1728 Silvanus Hussey, Ebeneezer Gardner and John Macy were chosen to receive the largess of £780 distributed by Massachusetts for the Crown, notwithstanding, Indian relations seem to have grown worse. Silvanus Hussey procured a sentence of 20 lashes put upon an Indian who had defrauded stolen foodstuffs in 1726. In 1727 the sheriff caught up with one John Saunders, (perhaps not an Indian) who had defrauded Silvanus - and Experience Coffin as well. Certainly another culprit, an Indian, was condemned for having stolen a silver spoon in 1726 from Capt. Hussey. Shubael Coffin also received a judgement in 1726 from an Indian who made off with six gallons

of rum from his sloop as it foundered. In 1727 Matthew Jenkins got an Indian "impressed" for opening the prison.

One very curious item in 1727 has to do with Stephen Coffin, the sole surviving son of the original Tristram, who hailed his nephew Peter Coffin, into court on the charge that the latter threatened "to knock out his brains". Probably the quarrel had to do with land, for the old Quaker held firm to the monopoly which in his grasp, while the nephew, son of John of Edgartown was married into the Puritan Gardner family which regarded his land control with anathema. As it happened the case was settled out of court.

There were also a few deaths in this quiet pre-1728 period. The head of the senior branch of the Coffin House, Jethro, master of Sunset Hill house, a Puritan grateful to see the Congregational Church active on the Island died in 1726 in his sixties. The next year, young Nathaniel Gardner Jr., aged 30, son of the late Quaker minister passed away. As he naturally died intestate Batchelor Hussey, Ebeneezer Gardner (his brother), and Jethro Gardner (a cousin) were asked to handle the estate. Interestingly the most valuable item was a negro slave called Toby, (worth £90). There was also a quarter share of a sloop called Kingfisher, 27 sheep, a large valuable grandfather's clock, silver buckles, a cup and spoons. The estate grossed £472.5s.0d. and netted £412.0s.2d. (10,000 dollars) which went with the guardianship of the minor children to his widow Mary (Folger) Gardner. They had been married in 1725 when John Macy and Nathaniel Coleman acted as advisors. It will be recalled that in 1722 he had been refused the hand of Jemima Coffin (then Swain) by the same John Macy and the late Stephen Coffin Jr. The curious side to this story is that Nathaniel's widow eventually married the same Nathaniel Coleman who advised her first husband. The story sounds a bit like John Alden and Miles Standish. Nathaniel

Gardner Jr. left three brothers, three sisters, widow and two children. The year following, 1728, Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner had to account to the courts for the estate of Africa, the free negro, for whom he was trustee. It will be recalled that Africa had been manumitted nearly twenty years before by William Gayer. The free negro left no less than £102.16s.11d. - but who received his estate was not noted. Still another death in 1728 (with peripheral relation to the Meeting) was that of Richard Gardner Jr. also in his 60s, widower husband of the late Mary (Austin) Gardner and father of Quakeress Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, Samuel's wife.

Another of the Gardner family to go was Margaret (Gardner) Folger, aged 32, sister to Nathaniel Jr., who also died in 1727, in fact during the same month. Their relative youth raised the question as to a possible sea tragedy. The surviving widow and widower would each soon remarry. Apparently Jonathan Folger was given title to his wife's estate. Jonathan and Margaret were the eighth couple married by Nantucket Meeting in 1716, when Experience Coffin and Priscilla Coleman were active. It is remarkable that only two of these eight unions lasted till 1763. Margaret Folger left three brothers and three sisters, a husband and five children. There were other deaths but in families not associated with the Meeting, or not yet discussed. In this category were a few who had become members as young married couples and who raised their children as Friends. Account will be taken of these in the 20th anniversary list of adult members, which follows directly.

There remains only to note that from 1708 to 1711 the Meeting got its roots into the community, and from 1711 to 1718 got fully established. From 1718 to 1725 many crises were met, while the 1725-1728 period was one of quiet settling in. By

1728, however, it was clear that both a select meeting of ministers and elders was needed and as well a much bigger Meetinghouse, than that which had been enlarged 12 years before.

From 1708 to 1728 the increasing tempo of Nantucket Quaker life was matched by the same phenomena in the British Colonies in America - but a slackening followed, noticable until the 1760s. As in other places Quakerism consolidated itself - preparing for new and even more spectacular growth in the last third of the 18th century.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 16.

## THE OUTSIDE WORLD FROM 1708 to 1728

There is a common generality among Quakers that the 18th Century was an age of Quietism, at least as far as the Society of Friends was concerned - a gradual hardening of the arteries sociologically speaking: decline and loss of vocation. This middle valley of mediocrity thus lies between the high endeavor of the "first publishers of truth" in the 17th Century - to give Quakerism a new vital purpose. This generalization similar to many other such, was constructed by the 19th Century evangelicals, themselves, and was accepted by some 20th Century Quaker historians. The fact of the matter is that the 18th Century is not well known, in a Quaker sense, especially in America. English Quakerism did decline, largely because of emigration to America. Some British Quakers became very wealthy - and "emigrated" out of the Society of Friends into the Anglican Church and into the House of Lords. The Methodist movement which got going about 1740 appealed to the classes below the sturdy yeomanry in which the Society of Friends found its basic orientation. Methodism was pietistic in essence. Quakerism was rooted in "community". It is obvious that the forces which produced 18th Century Methodism in the English speaking world had little or no relevance to Friends. In fact in America the Society of Friends flourished

to the extent that emigrants to the new world moved up into the yeoman class. And this was undisputably the tendency.

It is not therefor surprising to learn that growth among Quaker Meetings was enormous during the first third of the century although the "great awakening" which accompanied the spread of Methodism had a quietening effect on the Society. Even on Nantucket it is clear that right up to the building of the great Meetinghouse in 1732, there was enormous vitality. Growth continues, but the excitement lies elsewhere. By 1760 there are obvious signs that a new and even greater vitality was overtaking Nantucket Quakerism. This was the age which produced John Woolman, second only to Fox in Quaker repute. The wave of Quaker growth then initiated flowed on well into the 19th century - when it was disrupted by the evangelical movement - of which Methodism was the first fruits in the English-speaking world. The conflict engendered by injecting pietism into high places - chiefly by visiting English Quakers converts to evangelicalism wrecked American Quakerism. That American Quakerism could be so easily wrecked is a commentary on its loss of perspective. Sufficient it is to state at this point, that no Meeting suffered more from the evangelical infusion than did Nantucket. But that age lay far ahead - at least a century ahead - for in 1828 the first great Quaker schism occurred.

But to turn to political events from 1708 to 1728 - the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland appeared in 1707 to replace the three regal dignities involved. In 1708 Minorca was taken to reinforce Gibraltar and to initiate the British lifeline in the Mediterranean. By 1711 negotiations were undertaken to conclude the War of the Spanish Succession, crowned by the victories of Utrecht (1713); the Quadruple Alliance (1718); and the Treaty of London (1720). The high seas whale fishery initiated in 1712 came at the right moment! In 1711 Acadia (Nova Scotia) had passed into British hands. For thirty years

there was peace in the North Atlantic; a British administered peace. Nantucket oil was regularly sold in London the second two of these three decades.

In 1714 Britain and Hanover moved into the same orbit - but this made no impression on the colonies, except that the government if anything was less hard on Quakers. Anne's rule had resulted in Quaker loss of the Carolina and New Jersey colonies. It was with almost craven gratitude that British Friends noted the collapse of the efforts of the Stuart Pretenders. On the other hand after 1715, Richard Partridge, Dover, N.H. Friend made his headquarters in London to serve first his colony and then most of the seaboard in connection with negotiations with the Privy Council, the Board of Trade, and Parliament. In 1759 Partridge was almost the key figure in the operation of the British Colonial system. Was he a cousin of the Starbucks of Dover - and of Nantucket?

Sir Robert Walpole was Partridge's close Friend and associate in letting sleeping dogs lie. The Prime Minister bowed out when the South Sea Bubble was about to burst, and returned to win out over George II through Queen Caroline, to keep the war of the League of Hanover to a minimum, and to prevent the Emperor Charles VI plunging Europe into war over Parma. In 1733 Walpole met his first set-back. Ten years later he resigned, and war with France had broken out. But Partridge still had a quarter century service ahead of him.

Europe was no longer troubled by Louis XIV after 1713. It was Isabella Farnese, Queen of Spain, who proved the stormy petrel of this ~~xxx~~ 1708-1728 period. But such had little effect on Nantucketers. Rather the politics of Boston as they impinged on Indian affairs, or ecclesiastical interests on the Island which seemed the major danger. In this contest Nantucket was no longer alone. Nathaniel Starbuck and a chosen few sat in the high

ecclesiastical counsels of Newport's Quakerdom - a church which dominated the governments of the colony of Rhode Island, and watched opportunities to oppose Puritan policies elsewhere.

In 1701 New England Yearly Meeting adopted its Queries (or group confessional). One question read; "How do all Friends keep their testimony to the Truth in refusing to pay to maintenance of the hireling ministry?" In 1708 Deliverance Smith of Dartmouth Meeting, Nantucket visitor, was arrested for refusing to collect Puritan state church tithes. In protesting this action to Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts, Nantucket Meeting got its initiation in state politics. Dartmouth was frequently the scene of Boston intolerance. At one point the Quaker Meeting proposed - salary free - one of their member ministers as pastor of the Puritan Church in that township. It took a "missive" from the King to stop the ensuing rage from Beacon Hill. No doubt both Richard Partridge and Sir Robert Walpole had a hand in procuring the missive.

Meanwhile Nathaniel Starbuck sat on the committee which produced the first New England Y.M. Book of Discipline in 1709, closely fashioned on that of Philadelphia for 1704, - to which place the first Nantucket Quaker visitors resorted in 1710. London was reached in 1713.

A second of the 1701 Queries asked "Whether Friends do deep up Truths Testimony, against bearing arms, training and things of that nature?" Some Dartmouth Friends had been hailed into prison in 1704 for refusing military service. One died as a result of his treatment in 1712. Deliverance Smith was one of those arrested. Probably the creation of Salem Quarterly Meeting in 1705 was motivated in part by seeking a kinder way out over some Hampton M.M. Friends who were condemned for paying fortification taxes. A third Query read "Are Friends careful to bring their sufferings for Truth's Testimony that they may

be recorded?" In 1712 as Quarterly Meeting put the Quaker peace position to non-Quaker Gov. Benedict Arnold, they noted the names of Friends to suffer distraints for refusing military taxes - such men as Jacob Mott, William Anthony and Ephriam Hicks. An attempt to write a Quaker exemption into the Rhode Island law of 1713, shows how endangered was the Quaker domination of that legislature in time of war.

Not till the great Meetinghouse was built was a proper Quaker school opened on Nantucket, despite the Query"Whether Friends have an honest Friend as schoolmaster, and if not, to do their utmost to endevour to get one to teach their children and not send them to such schools when they are taught the corrupt ways, manners, fashions and languages of the world?" Did the "cent" school of 1717 offer "thee" and "thou" constructions? Newport opened its Quaker school in 1712, ancestor of the Moses Brown School.

Slavery posed a problem which caused Germantown Preparative Meeting to condemn the institution as early as 1688. But as no similar appreciation came from others this group of German Quakers withdrew in 1709 from the Society of Friends to become a Mennonite Church. George Kieth had already in 1693 attacked slavery, in a pamphlet entitled, Exhortation and Caution to Friends concerning the buying or keeping of Negroes. But he was disowned for other reasons. Then in 1715 John Hepburn, also in Philadelphia, issued a pamphlet called American Defense of the Christian Golden Rule, which probably got to Nantucket, as both Thomas Chalkley and John Farmer promoted his point of view. John Farmer, it will be recalled, was disowned and died in obscurity in England in 1725. In 1711 a woman Friend of Sandwich M.M. beat a disobedient slave to death - was disowned - and then readmitted after apologizing. And a Philadelphia Friend, William Southeby, was disowned for refusing to allow

his pamphlet against slavery to be suppressed. Yet Rhode Island M.M. condemned the slave trade in 1715, following a Philadelphia advice of 1696. It was however the joint distinction of Chester M.M. (Pennsylvania) and Nantucket M.M. in 1716 to condemn slavery itself. Neither Monthly Meeting moved its respective Quarterly Meeting, though New England Y.M. issued an advice against the slave trade in 1717. This advice was strengthened later that year at Rhode Island Q.M. at the specific request of Jethro Starbuck.

Although no anti-slavery Query was adopted, there was one which read "Where there are any differences among Friends that care be taken to put a speedy end thereto" which was put into use over the case of Stephen Hussey. Admonishing was accepted among Friends from 1654 onwards - and probably disownment, if no acceptance of Meeting judgement was achieved. It is, however, instructive that only three persons were disowned by Nantucket M.M. till 1760.

1754?

Linked to this situation was the 1701 query - "How do young people come up in the Truth, and such as parents of children answer their duty in laboring that the youth be kept out of the corrupting friendships of the world?" Until the 1740s most of the Quaker young people on Nantucket married each other, which probably consitutes a practical answer to this question.

Then more specifically it was asked "Whether all young and unmarried people among Friends be careful not to make motion or procedure one with another, upon the accn't of marriage without first acquainting parents or guardians therewith before they proceed, and also that Friends be careful not to make too early and unsavory proceedings in second marriages, after death of husband or wife?" A number of cases of deal-

ing for sexual irregularity occurred, but it did not become customary to even think of disownment for "marrying out" till after 1763.

When William Swain was before the Meeting in 1717 for gambling, the query appropriate read; "That Friends be careful not to spend their precious time in drinking and smoking in tipling houses and other places, and if any be not careful therein whether spoken to and exhorted?" As Crevecoeur noted the Island cummunity was "obedient to the laws, even to non-resistance at home, sobriety, meekness, neatness, love of order, fondness and appetite for commerce", being its positive fruits.

"How Friends keep out of the customs, fashions and language of the world and if any are not careful therein, whether spoken to and exhorted?" was the query which most clearly marks Friends as a separate "peculiar" people. Yet simplicity was a natural state of affairs where administrative incompetency made for South Sea Bubbles. In 1715 Gov. Dudley retired, leaving Lt. Gov. Burgess to act for a year. Burgess, did little, and then in 1717 Col. Shute took on - and fought his legislature for six years on the hard currency line.

On Nantucket there was no music or dancing. Even Boston legislated that such indulgences should be kept discreetly quiet. Gambling houses were severely fined in 11719, as well as those citizens caught taking chances. As Crevecoeur noted regarding Nantucket - "A probable expectation of reasonable profits, or of kindly assistance if they fail of success renders them strangers to licentious expedients".

The Query applicable to business read "If any offer for an apprentice, or any master wants an apprentice, and if Friends be careful not to put their children apprentice to the world's people?" The universal two year apprenticeship ran from age

12 to 14, mostly on whale ships and allied enterprises - owned almost all at least in part by Quakers - so the Query could be answered affirmatively.

Still another asked - "Whether the births and deaths of Friends and their children be brought into every Monthly and Quarterly Meeting that they may be recorded?" Quite obviously this study could not have been undertaken had Nantucket Friends been slack in this regard. The first Friends child born after Monthly Meeting was formed was Huldah Hussey who married in 1734 thus marking one measure of a generation. But no formal lists of members were kept on the Island till after 1765. Attendance at Business Meeting indicated adherence to Friends principles. Marriage under the care of the Meeting constituted a good point at which to begin such attendance.

And another Query asked "If Friends be advised to make their wills whilst in health, to prevent inconveniences, that may fall out by delaying the same?" This appeared to have no distaff application on Nantucket at least till 1750. Not a single female will was probated.

Privateering and piracy took the center of the stage from 1716 to 1726, as legacy of the late war of the Spanish Succession. At least a hundred such were wrecked in 1711 on the treacherous Cape Cod shoals. And in 1719 Gov. John Wanton of Rhode Island used privateers to block the officials of the Board of Trade on the pretext they were exacting illegal fees. It was indeed a border-line activity for a Quaker Governor to protect smuggling.

Chalkley had written that Quakers "have liberty from God .... to work or seek for Food and Raiment ... it appears we not only have Liberty to labour in Moderation but we are given that it is our Duty so to do". John Reynall, the first great Quaker merchant prince of Philadelphia (who did not get to Nantucket) wrote -

In doing business be a little on the Reserve and

Observe well the Person thou has to do with ... Keep thy Business to thy self, and dont let it be known, who thou dost business for, or what Sorts of Goods thou Ships off. Endevour to know what Prices other People give for goods but say nothing of what thou gives thy-self - or where thou Buys. It is very Probable some will tell thee they give more for a thing than they did, on Purpose to make thee buy more dear. In Order to do thee an Injury in thy Business. If thou Finds about a place where they sell cheap, keep it to thy-self for if thou Ships of Goods cheaper than others, it will Increase Business.

Here was an advice not put in the Book of Discipline - not quite in keeping with the reputation of scrupulous honesty and the single price system attributed to Quakers - nor on the other hand did it go as far as Quaker collaboration with piracy to circumvent the law. Notwithstanding, such advice as Friend Reynall gave led to a reputation not quite savory at best. George Kieth wrote that Friends "keeping their trade within themselves, and maintaining a strict Correspondence and Intelligence over all ports where they were" gave them an advantage over all others. Imagine the store of economic and political information gleaned from the visiting ministers! - no matter how spiritually minded they might be in Meetings for Worship! But how reactionary Reynall appears to anyone who has knowledge of the benefits of free trade!

On the intellectual side Philadelphia Quakers were obviously on their toes. John Smith the literary Friend of Burlington, N.J., Clerk of Yearly Meeting, was involved in theological discussions with Jonathan Edwards and even the Archbishop of Canterbury. James Logan, Thomas Story's successor felt competent to

criticize John Locke, George Berkeley and David Hume. Berkeley, it should be noted, lived in Newport at the end of this period, where the Wantons were his close associates.

Samuel Bownas writing in 1727 observed, "Now the extraordinary increase of Friends (in America) is much attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents, and marrying such..." "Most of the meeting houses (he said were), very much enlarged, some to hold double, some treble, some four times the people that the old ones would ... and even now some wanting to be enlarged or new ones built at proper distances." Probably the Quaker membership tripled during the 30 years from 1698 to 1728. If so, New England Y.M. increased from 3,000 to 9,000 members. But the only new Monthly Meeting in the area aside from Nantucket was Providence, set off from Greenwich in 1718.

In 1733 Gov. Shute left his post in Boston, while a colonist, William Dummer, reduced tensions in Massachusetts for another five years. Dummer was succeeded unfortunately by William Burnett, an incompetent dilettante. By 1718 the Scots-Irish had begun to arrive in Massachusetts, to be packed off to frontier towns as in Pennsylvania. Already the exiled Huguenots had settled in Boston originating such families as the Bowdoins, Fanueils and Reveres.

In 1719 an act was passed against dueling - after 1728 anyone killed while dueling was to have a stake driven through his heart. Elaborate funerals were forbidden in 1724 and any on Sunday in 1727. But "Mother Goose" melodies was considered harmless and published in 1719. James Franklin issued his New England Weekly by absorbing the Boston Gazette (1719-1727). These papers probably reached Nantucket in batches - late.

In New Hampshire great prosperity came to the Wentworth interests, when all duties were removed from timber. Even pig

iron went duty free after 1718 - and Massachusetts outdid Maryland. In 1722 the overland route between Boston and Providence was opened. Nantucket actually imported lumber and built a sloop in 1723. And the sail industry flourished especially after 1720 when flax was used to make linen "duck" cloth.

Southwards in Rhode Island a curious tendency toward Quaker aristocracy was to be observed. An anti-catholic law was passed in 1719, and the Right to Vote was limited to moderately great landowners. Incidentally the most stringent penal code was to be found in Pennsylvania after 1722. Connecticut was becoming more liberal, allowing the Presbyterians of the State to vote in 1709. In Boston in 1722 the second Anglican Church was built (the Old North), while the revival movement began among the Dutch Reformed in New Jersey in 1722. The first spire in America appeared in Guilford, Conn. in 1720. There was nothing similar on Nantucket for another 45 years. South Yarmouth built a new Meetinghouse in 1714, three years after Nantucket and this town exempted Friends from tithes in 1717 - the first town so to act after Nantucket. Falmouth built a new Meetinghouse in 1720 and the main Dartmouth House at Apponeganset was enlarged in 1727. Dartmouth got its own Quaker school in 1722 - but suffered in 1724 the temporary loss of a Quaker family abducted by the local Indians. The first attack by a Puritan upon the Puritan control of Massachusetts was made by John Wise, Puritan minister of Ipswich near Hampton in 1717. In any case the New England of 1728 was a far cry from that of 1658 when Quakers were hanged on Boston Common. By 1798 the Quakers of New England, particularly those from Nantucket would have become one of the most influential bodies in the Anglo-American world.

# NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

## CHAPTER 17.

## NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING IN 1728

### MENS MEETING

In following the pattern set for 1708 and continued in 1718, for listing members it would seem useful in 1728 to start again with the Coffin family. There, Samuel Coffin, aged 48, was one of the town's pound keepers (a member for twenty years). His twin brother, Tristram Coffin, also aged 48, lived in Edgartown. Samuel's sons John Coffin, aged 20 and Libni Coffin, aged 18, were both regarded as members, while Tristram's children were still too young. Samuel and Tristram's uncle, Stephen Coffin, aged 81, was still in "active retirement", the last of his generation (also a member for twenty years). Cousins of the twins were Shubael Coffin, aged 34, who was currently serving as constable, and his brother Zephaniah Coffin, aged 29, who was an active whaler. Still another cousin (once removed) of both sets of Coffin brothers cited was Benjamin Coffin, aged 23, likewise involved in the whaling industry. One of his first cousins, Richard Coffin, aged 34, in fact the only Quaker offspring in a Puritan family, had come into Meeting about 1720, when he and his Bunker wife decided to raise their children as Quakers. The Coffins thus showed a steady progression from

the original three to six and then to nine male adult members. With the death of Stephen Coffin Jr. this family took a smaller role, however, than it had done in the counsels of the Meeting.

Such only emphasized the guiding position taken by the Starbuck men. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., the Men's Clerk and minister, was now aged 60 and had achieved a fortune unique on Nantucket. At least he had yielded his moderators gavel in town affairs. But on the whole he was the center of the establishment in civic and Meeting business. Paul Starbuck, aged 32, an elder, was his shipping agent, a traveller now in Boston, now in New Bern N.C., now in London, England. Two other sons also attended Business Meeting; Benjamin Starbuck, aged 21, and Tristram Starbuck, aged 19. The Clerk's brother, Jethro Starbuck, aged 57, elder and selectman, was obviously a key figure. Two of his sons were members; William Starbuck, aged 29, minister, and Thomas Starbuck, aged 22. The latter was more concerned with this-worldliness and its compensations. The Starbucks gained only one in the decade - numbering seven in all, but no influence was lost. Both the older Starbuck men were founders of the Meeting.

John Coleman, after 20 years, still sat head of Meeting, aged 61, though his civic interests seemed to have waned. His eldest son, Nathaniel Coleman, aged 31, was still a bachelor, amazingly enough, but withal a gifted minister. His second son, Elihu Coleman, aged 29, was just beginning to appear similarly in the ministry. Two unmarried brothers had joined them in the Men's Meeting; Jethro Coleman, aged 22, and Barnabas Coleman, aged 20. Their uncle, Capt. Soloman Coleman was then 43. This family increased from four to six.

John Folger (an original member) aged 69, was aging, but still about. His eldest son, Jethro Folger, aged 39, was still

an overseer. A second son, Jonathan Folger, aged 32, had stepped into his father's shoes in Meeting matters. The third son, Shubael Folger, aged 28, was a prosperous whaler. A cousin of these men was Daniel Folger, aged 27, an able man in this world's affairs if there ever was one. The Folgers like the Starbucks had increased only by one.

It will be recalled that the Swains had remained a minority of one. They doubled by 1728. William Swain, aged 33, was joined by a cousin, Caleb Swain, aged 28. Neither occupied positions of influence on the Island. About 1720 both Shubael Gorham, and his brother, Stephen Gorham moved back to Cape Cod, possibly to develop deep sea whaling there, as the Bass River community had originally thirty years before brought beach whaling to Nantucket. Thus the Gorham name disappeared from the Island, though of course they eventually left many descendants, deriving from the distaff side.

Bachelor Hussey, the overseer now 48, had been a member for 20 years. He was restless and would emigrate before another decade had passed. Two of his sons attended the Men's Meeting, John Hussey, aged 18, and Stephen Hussey, aged 15. Two uncles were also members; Capt. Silvanus Hussey, town official aged 46, and mate, George Hussey, aged 36. Silvanus was probably the most active, civicly speaking of this name. There were five as compared to two Husseys a decade before, but a gain only of one if the Gorham loss is considered.

Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner, town official, aged 40, was an inactive member. Only one brother, Andrew Gardner, aged 29 (of the late minister's sons) was left. A somewhat ~~vigorous~~ negative Quaker, Ebeneezer was, however, keen on civic responsibility. So his son Tristram Gardner, aged 16, though technically a Quaker, associated with Puritans rather than with "Meeting" folk.

Four of Ebeneezer and Andrew's cousins, brothers as it happened, were however vital Quaker members. There was overseer Samuel Gardner, aged 36; selectman-elder, Jethro Gardner, aged 32; overseer Barnabas Gardner, aged 33 (who wed a Boston girl probably by Quaker ceremony): and overseer, Jonathan Gardner, aged 32. This family remained only as large as it was in 1718, thus falling behind the Coffins, in 1728.

Capt. Jabez Bunker, overseer, aged 50, now had two sons with him in the Meeting. These were Samuel Bunker, aged 17, and Paul Bunker, aged 15. Jabez' nephew Daniel Bunker, aged 32, finished off the roster of this name which doubled in the decade.

The Paddack family tripled; Nathaniel Paddack reached the age of 43; while a son, Daniel Paddack, aged 21, had become a member; and a nephew, Eliphalet Paddack, aged 28. All were engaged in whaling enterprises. A brother of Eliphalet, Seth Paddack, aged 29, had married (in Yarmouth) in 1727 a Nantucket Quakeress who was destined to play a very important role in Nantucket affairs. But in 1728 they ahd not yet settled on the Island. Four years had yet to pass.

Matthew Jenkins was now aged 37, but even at that young age had three stalwart sons to join him in the Meeting. These were, Thomas Jenkins, aged 21, Peter Jenkins, aged 18, and Joseph Jenkins, aged 15; quadrupling the original man of that name. There were thus twelve men of twenty years membership and a total of 52 in the original family grouping, 16 more than in 1718. There had been 22 in 1708.

The next grouping includes the families who "arrived" between 1708 and 1718. The Barnards were represented by Benjamin Barnard, aged 47, and his brother Ebeneezer Barnard, aged 42, as well as two nephews Robert Barnard, an elder, aged

26, and Matthew Barnard, aged 23. A son of Ebeneezer, Timothy Barnard, aged 16, attended Meeting as well as his cousin, Peter Barnard, aged 15, son of the late Nathaniel Barnard. The Barnards thus rose from four to six members in the decade.

Next came the Macys. John Macy, elder, town official, aged 53, was one of four brothers. Jabez Macy, aged 46, an overseer, was the second. Another was Thomas Macy, town moderater, treasurer of Meeting, town and county, overseer, aged ~~xx~~ 44. One of his jobs in 1728 was to bank the £780 allotted Nantucket by the Massachusetts General Court. Two of Thomas' sons attended Meeting; Joseph Macy, aged 19 and Robert Macy, aged 18. Lastly there was Richard Macy, aged 42, who also had a son, Zaccheus Macy, aged 15, in the Meeting. Richard was likewise an overseer. The Macys increased from four to seven.

Joseph Marshall, aged 56, was for a second time a widower. He was beginning to take much interest in the Meeting and to begin to speak as a minister. One son, Benjamin Marshall, aged 22, was listed as a member, though was often away as agent for his father's enterprises. This name had naturally doubled.

The Pinkham name tripled. Shubael Pinkham, "Hog-Reeve", aged 37, had been joined by his brothers, Daniel Pinkham, aged 31, and Theophilus Pinkham, aged 23. The latter was keeping company with a Quaker Paddack girl.

Thomas Clark, elder, aged 63, was the sole member of his family in Meeting, as was the case ten years before. He was among the citizens of 1731 who got judgement against Indians who broke open his shop and stole his goods; in this case tools. Thus 18 more names were added to the 52 already listed to produce to men members. In turning to the "new" families we find a total of ten additional names. First there was William Clasby, an overseer, aged 38, attracted from England by oppor-

tunities, economically speaking, on Nantucket. Then there was George Brown, aged 35, a tailor. And of course there was Stephen Wilcox, aged 53, the minister from Dartmouth. Philip Pollard, aged 53, likewise an overseer, was of English origin. Nathaniel Allen, aged 30, on the other hand was a native Nantucketer. Benjamin Barney, aged 31, was a tailor, from off-Island.

Soon after 1720 the Worth family came into Meeting. They were an old Nantucket family with Macy and Shattuck ancestry. In fact the Macy adherence to Meeting brought them in. William Worth, aged 36, had married into the wealthy Butler family of Martha's Vineyard in 1717. He was one of those to prosecute an Indian girl in 1726, being a man of enterprise as well as property. His brother Joseph Worth, aged 32, was an overseer, having married in 1720 in Yarmouth a daughter of Shubael Gorham. Both were whalers. Samuel Barker, a brick-mason, aged 61, occupied the Island outpost at Woods Hole. Another Quaker to marry into Nantucket (but in this case the ceremony took place off-Island) was David Gwinn, aged 28, who wed a Cartwright in 1722. He can hardly be listed as a member though his children later moved out on to the Island. David's wife's stepmother was a member of Meeting. Another couple, from off-Island, in this case may be considered as members, having been married in 1727. His name was George Newbegin, aged 18, obviously attracted by whaling. Finally there was Joseph Marshall's step-son, Thomas Howes Jr., aged 27. Thus the new names involved 11 additional members. Raising the Men's Meeting to 79 participants, compared with 47 a decade before and 22 two decades earlier. The rate of growth had somewhat slackened; six were elderly, seventeen were middle-aged, which left 55 young men. Probably two thirds of these were on the high seas at any given moment, so that the Men's Monthly Meeting attendance must have run about 35 on the average.

WOMEN'S MEETING

In 1728 the granddaughters of the original Shattuck Quakeress were somewhat reduced in numbers. Elizabeth Gorham had left for the Cape, and Margaret Folger was, like the Grandmother, dead. Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, aged 42 was there; also Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, aged 43; Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, aged 42; Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 51; and Judith (Gardner) Barnard, aged 35. No one of these five were officers or specially named Friends. The sixth granddaughter, Judith (Worth) Macy, aged 39, was an overseer. They were joined by granddaughter Abiel (Gardner) Clasby, aged 35, who was also an overseer; and by Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard, a minister, aged 29. Thus the granddaughters stood at seven. No more would join the Meeting. Great-granddaughters were, however, represented. Mary (Gorham) Gardner, aged 24, and Susannah (Gorham) Paddack, aged 23; sisters were in this grouping; also Naomi (Bunker) Paddack, aged 19; and Deborah Coffin, aged 20; Jemima (Barnard) Coleman, aged 29; Hannah Barnard, aged 17 (her sister); and Miriam (Macy) Coffin, aged 20. Thus the great-granddaughters also stood at seven so that this last time we take note of Sarah Gardner's distaff offspring as such there were 14 female descendants active in the Women's Monthly Meeting. There had been eight of Sarah Shattuck's family in the 1718 Meeting. It should be pointed out that Miriam Coffin lost her non-Quaker father, Richard Gardner Jr. in 1728, aged 75.

Sarah Varney and both of her daughters were gone. Granddaughter Miriam Coffin (as cited above) was to be found in Meeting, as was her cousin, Deborah (Coffin) Macy, aged 43. One of her daughters Love Macy, aged 15 attended Women's Meeting, as did her second cousin, Deborah Coffin (also noted above).

The influence of "Aunt Sarah" would have been nearly static (the last time it is noticed) except for the appearance of two off-Island sisters, cousins to the older women. These were Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck, aged 26; and Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, aged 21.

The Women's Clerk was now aged 53. Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, elder, was still close to her only sister, Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, elder, aged 55 (and long a widow). Dorcas had four daughters in the Meeting. These were Sarah (Starbuck) Macy, aged 31; Eunice (Starbuck) Pinkham, aged 27; Lydia (Starbuck) Barney, aged 24; and Jemima Starbuck, aged 16. Damaris had none. Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, elder, sister-in-law to the Women's Clerk was now aged 52. One of her sisters, Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker-Clark, aged 47, was in the Meeting. There were six Starbuck daughters as well: Mary (Starbuck) Folger, elder, aged 36; Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, aged 32; Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, aged 30; Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, minister, aged 28; Abigail (Starbuck) Howes, aged 24; and Ruth Starbuck, aged 14. Five of Elizabeth Clark's daughters were now in the Meeting: Lydia (Bunker) Gardner? Coffin, aged 28; Ruth (Bunker) Coffin, aged 26; Patience (Bunker) Gardner, aged 25; Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, aged 22; and Judith Bunker, aged 20. Three had married non-Quakers and were thus peripheral Friends. This agglomeration of family is due to be broken down. There were 19 in it as compared to 10 in 1718. This is raised to 20 (an even double) when Dinah Starbuck's first Quaker member granddaughter, Jedidah Folger, aged 17, is included (daughter of Mary Folger). Obviously this was the major clan on the distaff side.

Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, [aged 52], was often visited by her sister, Hephzibah Hathaway of Dartmouth. Both were ministers. Priscilla had two daughters in the Meeting; Phebe

Coleman, aged 17, and Priscilla Coleman, aged 15. A niece, Abigail (Coleman) Coffin, aged 17, completed the picture; thus quadrupling this family.

Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard- Wilcox, aged 53, sat head of Meeting and occupied a unique place of influence on the Island as an elder. This was also partly that her father was the sole surviving son of Tristram Coffin, the founder, and partly through the marriages of her numerous progeny. Three of her daughters were: Keziah (Folger) Gardner, aged 29; Anna (Folger) Starbuck, elder, soon to be accounted "Queen of the Quakers", aged 26; and Mary (Folger) Gardner, aged 23 (recently widowed). There was also Elizabeth Barnard, aged 18. Thus there were five daughters in all nearly tripling the numbers in 1718.

Judith Wilcox's sister-in-law, Experience (Look) Coffin, aged 53, was also an elder. Two of her daughters were members; Mary Coffin, aged 23, and Dinah Coffin, aged 15; thus tripling this group. Their father was the late Stephen Coffin Jr. One last Coffin was Jemima (Coffin) Swain, aged 33, sister of Abigail Fitch of Boston. She replaced a sister who died after 1718.

In the Bunker family were found Ann (Bunker) Paddack, aged 43, and her sisters, Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, aged 39; and Mary (Bunker) Coffin, elder, aged 40 of Edgartown. Ann had three daughters in the Meeting; Deborah Paddack, aged 19, Love Paddack, aged 17, and Lydia Paddack, aged 15. Abigail had one daughter, Mary Pinkham, aged 15. Mary had no daughters. This family more than doubled. There were in addition, of course, the five Bunker nieces listed in the Starbuck grouping. As well there was Naomi (Bunker) Paddack, aged 21, another niece; who thus quadrupled (in gross) this family.

The Pinkhams still had Deborah (Pinkham) Macy, aged 34, and as well her niece, Mary Pinkham (listed above in the Bunker family); this family doubled. The Hussey family lost Puella Gorham, who had moved to Cape Cod, but gained her sister, Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, aged 39. An older sister was Abigail (Hussey) Howes. Marshall, aged 49, Another sister was Theodate (Hussey) Johnson, aged 28, married and Jedidah (Hussey) Coffin, aged 20. Their mother Abigail (Hall) Hussey, an overseer, aged 48, may be listed with them. This family went from three to five. Two years later in 1730 Theodate was fined by the Nantucket Court for selling rum to the Indians. There were also two nieces; Mary Hussey, aged 22, and Jedidah (Hussey) Coffin, aged 20. Their mother Abigail (Hall) Hussey, an overseer, aged 48, may be listed with them. This family went from three to five.

In the Folger family one found sisters; Bethiah (Folger) Barker, aged 36; and Abigail (Folger) Folger, aged 25; and their three Folger cousins once removed, daughters of Judith Wilcox as above noted. A last member of Meeting in this group was their first cousin, Leah (Folger) Gardner, aged 27, not yet closely attached to Friends. Thus this family had tripled its numbers. And there was also still another cousin to Leah and Judith Wilcox children, namely, Jedidah Folger, who was noted as Dinah Starbuck's granddaughter.

Anna Trott, elder, was now aged 73, and in retirement, as was her sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, aged 68. Anna's daughter, Abigail (Trott) Brown, was then aged 35; this family had not increased. Sarah (Skiff) Long, aged 56, was a Friend. Her daughter Elizabeth Estes had moved off. So she was alone as before.

Patience (Swain) Gardner, aged 45, had one daughter, Mary Gardner, aged 15, to join her in Meeting - doubling this family. Other women in this orbit were; Mary (Wheeler) Gardner, aged 29, and Mary (Gorham) Gardner, aged 24; representing respectively

a Boston and a Cape family. Thus this group was quadrupled. A cousin Abigail (Gorham) Lovell had emigrated "to the main" tenporarily.

The Clarks continued with one representative in the figure of Jerusha (Clark) Folger, aged 26. On the other hand the Barnards were growing fast. There was Jemima (Barnard) Coleman, aged 29, and her sister Hannah Barnard, aged 17. Their cousin Dorcas Barney, lived in Newport, while two of her half-sisters were listed among the children of Judith Wilcox. A cousin of all these was Abigail Barnard, also aged 14, who should have been listed as a 16th descendant of Sarah Shattuck (daughter of Judith (Gardner) Barnard. This made for a five-fold gain.

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Sarah (Macy) Barnard aged 51, was a strong elder, with two daughters noted under the Barnard family, as were her nieces; Love Macy and Miriam (Macy) Coffin. This group already listed doubled in the decade. Closely associated with them were Mary (Butler) Worth, aged 33, and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, aged 27.

Other assorted members included: Provided (Gaskell) Allen, aged 28; Deliverance (Swett) Goleman, aged 35, both born off-Islanders. Two of the latter's sisters had married Nantucketers out-of-Meeting, but were still technically members. These were Mary (Swett) Swain, aged 39; and Huldah (Swett) Coleman, aged 31. Two more similar technical members were sisters of Lydia Worth,

namely, Hannah (Gorham) Manning, aged 25, and Theodate (Gorham) Coffin, aged 23. A cousin of these was sister of Mary (Gorham) Gardner to wit, Susannah (Gorham) Paddack, aged 23. And there was Mary (Stannel) Newbegin, aged 18, new to the Island.

There appear to have been 93 members of the Women's Meeting on Nantucket, 15 more than the Men's Meeting. They numbered 48 in 1718 and 27 in 1708. Thus the distaff side had nearly quadrupled in 20 years. Total adult membership in 1728 ran 177 with more than 250 children upon which to count. The Meeting had doubled itself in its second decade. It was an even younger body as only eight of its 177 members were elderly. 32 were middle-aged - thus leaving a total of 147 younger Friends.

The following losses were recorded from 1718 to 1728, by death:-

Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, (1632-1724) second resident Friend, 1658, elder.

Nathaniel Starbuck, (1635-1719) husband of founder, Friend 1708.

Stephen Coffin, Jr. (1675-1725) minister, Friend 1708.

Nathaniel Gardner Jr. (1697-1727) son of minister, Friend 1712.

Mary (Church) Clark (1684-1722) from Plymouth, Friend 1716.

Margaret (Gardner) Folger (1695-1727) daughter of minister, Friend 1710.

Mary (Austin) Gardner (1655-1721) daughter of minister, Friend 1708.

Benjamin Bunker (1683-1721) married on Cape, Friend 1709.

Deborah (Austin) Coffin (1652-1718) of Edgartown, Friend 1708.

Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall, (1679-1725) fashionable Friend 1720.

Parnel (Coffin) Coffin (1704-1727) Nominal, Friend 1724.

Emigrated:

Barnabas Starbuck (1673-1732) treasurer, member 1704-1722.

Elizabeth (Long) Estes (1698-1785) Member 1722.

Mary Trott (1690- ? ) member 1706-1714.

Mary Rogers (1680-1760) member 1712-1719.

Shubael Gorham (1675-1760) member 1711-1719.

Puella (Hussey) Gorham (1677-1765) member 1711-1719.

Abigail Gorham (1699-1778) member 1714-1719.

Lydia Gorham (1701-1763) member 1716-1719.

Hannah Gorham (1703-1750) member 1718-1719.

Stephen Gorham (1685-1770) member 1704-1720.

Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham (1691-1763) member 1704-1720.

Mary Gorham (1704-1780) member 1719-1720.

Susannah Gorham (1705-1777) member 1720.

A total of 25 losses were recorded similar to the rate of the previous decade. Considering the growth of the Meeting, the losses were less important than those in the 1708-1718 period.

## CHAPTER 18

## NON-TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILIES VII AND VIII

### THE PETER COFFINS

### 1728

To deal with the senior line of Tristram Coffin's family is to look at Judge Peter Coffin's household, not typical in most ways as far as Nantucket families were concerned. They hardly lived on the Island, avoided Quaker entanglements, but did contribute the so-called oldest house on Sunset Hill and proved the backbone of the Congregational Church. Thus it is appropriate to glance at them soon after the first old vestry was built.

Peter Coffin, 1632-1695, married Abigail (Starbuck) Coffin, 1645-1715, before ever Nantucket was contemplated by their kin as a refugee colony. Peter became a proprietor and keenly interested that his sister Mary should marry his wife's brother Nathaniel. There were occasional visits to the Island till in 1675, Judge Coffin and family took refuge there from King Philip's War. Their respective fathers lived on the Island and his brothers James and Stephen, as well as his wife's sister, soon to become Lady Gayer. And the Judge's brother John who lived in Edgartown had married a niece of his wife. Six children came with their parents: (one more was born on the Island) but five

moved off - these went back to marry old sweethearts from the pre-1675 period, one picked up a Nantucket wife, and the youngest grew up off-Island to marry there after the family returned to New Hampshire in 1690. The two who stayed on have interest for this study. They were the two eldest boys in the family.

There was Peter Coffin Jr., 1660-1699, who married his double- first cousin, Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin, later Barnard, 1665-1706, daughter of Nathaniel and the Great Mary. They in turn had seven children, three of whom grew up in New Hampshire and married there. Still four were left on Nantucket. The first of these was Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, 1683-1736, who married in 1701, one Jedediah Fitch, 1680-1756, of Boston, rather than accept the hand of the heir of Sir William Gayer. They had four children and then moved to Boston, as she inherited a third of the sizeable Gayer fortune. There Abigail Fitch became a Quaker, or at least was affiliated with the Boston Meeting for a while. One child also eventually followed the Quaker route. The second was Tristram Coffin, 1685-1730, who married Hannah (Brown) Coffin, 1686-1731, in 1706. She was a Puritan daughter of John Brown, third. Apparently they had no children. In 1706 Tristram's mother died, leaving five orphans. The three eldest were sent to their grandmother Abigail Coffin, then a widow in Dover, N.H. The two youngest were assigned respectively to Jethro Starbuck and Stephen Coffin Jr.

Eunice (Coffin) Gardner, 1693-1718, the elder of the two thus grew up in Nantucket Meeting. Her marriage in 1709 to Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner was the first under the care of the Meeting. They had four children before her early death in 1718. Since Ebeneezer re-married out-of-Meeting, their Quakerism wore pretty thin. The younger sister Jemima (Coffin) Swain, 1695-1766, had the distinction of being the only woman to be refused a

marriage request by Nantucket Meeting, so that eventually in 1727 she did marry William Swain, 1695-1770, the outstanding problem-lad in the Meeting in its early years. They had three children whose Quakerism was as thin as their cousins.

Uncle to Abigail Fitch, Eunice Gardner and Jemima Swain was the original owner of Sunset Hill, Jethro Coffin, 1663-1726, who had married Mary (Gardner) Coffin, 1670-1767, daughter of Capt. John, the anti-Quaker. They had six children, one of whom married off-Island. The others were : John Coffin, 1687-1768, who married Lydia (Gardner) Coffin, 1687-1788, daughter of Capt. Richard and Sarah, the first Quakeress, in 1705. They were ardent Congregationalists, raising eight children: Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, 1691-1772, who married John Gardner third, in 1710, but had no children; Maj. Josiah Coffin, 1698-1780, who married Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin, 1703-1774, daughter of James. They had six Puritan children; Abigail (Coffin) Woodbury, 1700-1770, who married a Bostonian, Nathaniel Woodbury, 1700-1741, in 1725. They had five children. The Woodburys probably started the habit of spending the summer on Nantucket. In any case they were not Meeting folk. Finally there was Robert Coffin, 1704-1757, who first married Parnel (Coffin) Coffin, 1712-1727, in 1725, daughter of Quaker miller Samuel. After her death, in 1728, Robert married Susannah (Coffin) Coffin, 1712-?, daughter of Jonathan, granddaughter of Magistrate James. They had ten children.

Thus the Nantucket version of Judge Peter Coffin's family ran to 40 great-grandchildren of whom eight were Quakers. The total list ran to 53, a small family by Island standards. Only two Quaker weddings were involved. Four men and five women were asked to handle these. Abigail (Hall) Hussey alone acted twice. Naturally no member of Judge Peter's family was called upon. Of a total of twenty marriages half were off-Island as might well be expected.

## THE JAMES COFFINS

### 1728

The James Coffin family was by far the largest - and it should be observed, Puritan in orientation. James Coffin, 1640-1720, was a pioneer settler, bringing his wife, Mary (Severance) Coffin, 1645-1695, from Boston two years later. As before noted James' father Tristram, and two brothers had come out at the start, as did his sister, the Great Mary. There were twelve children in this family, of whom but two joined their aunt and two uncles in the Meeting. The eldest was Mary (Coffin) Pinkham, 1663-1741, who married Richard Pinkham, ~~1684-1735~~ 1660-1718, from Dover, N.H. They had seven children as follows: Jonathan Pinkham, 1684-1735, who married Hannah (Brown) Coffin-Pinkham, 1668-1731, in 1730, daughter of John Brown Third, and widow of Tristram Coffin, son of Peter Jr. Then Jonathan married Margaret (Arthur) Rawson, (1695-1757) in 1731, daughter of John and Priscilla (Gardner) Arthur, and widow of Wilson Rawson. He had at least two children, possibly by a first wife, whom he may well have married off-Island, and where she must have died. Then there was Shubael Pinkham, 1691-1767, who married Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, daughter of William, 1689-1776, a weighty Quaker elder, in 1712, but out of Meeting. They had nine Quaker children. The third was Deborah (Pinkham) Macy, 1694-1767, who married elder Richard Macy, son of John Sr., 1689-1779, in 1711, out-of-Meeting, but then brought up their nine children as Friends. The fourth was Daniel Pinkham, 1697-1770, who married Eunice (Starbuck) Pinkham, 1701-1745, in Meeting in 1724, and after her death, Abigail (Folger) Folger-Pinkham, 1703-1787, in Meeting in 1748. Eunice was a daughter of Jethro Starbuck, and Abigail of

John Folger, the first Quaker in that family and widow of merchant Daniel. They had no children. Then there was Barnabas Pinkham, 1699-1772, unlike the preceeding three not a Friend. In 1720 he married Priscilla (Gardner) Pinkham, 1698-1755, daughter of Puritan George. Peleg Pinkham, 1701-1774, came next, marrying Elizabeth (Swain) Pinkham, 1702-1743 (probably from off-Island). There were probably children by all three of these marriages - but no Quakers. The last two were members of Meeting, by which fact it is clear that the Pinkham family inclined toward Quakerism. These were Theophilas Pinkham, 1705-1782, who married Deborah (Paddack) Pinkham, 1709-1758, in 1728. She was a daughter of Nathaniel and Ann (Bunker) Paddack. They had seven children. After her death Theophilas married Lydia (Coleman) Starbuck-Pinkham, 1711-1813, in 1761. Both weddings were in Meeting. Lydia was a daughter of Jeremiah Coleman, and widow of William the minister. James Pinkham, 1708-1792, was the youngest. He settled on Sarah (Coffin) Stanton-Pinkham, 1715-1750, in 1744. She was a daughter of miller Samuel and widow of Samuel, first of his name on the Island. They had one child before her death, and James then remarried, choosing Bethiah (Folger) Pinkham, 1722-1810, in 1755. Both were Quaker weddings. Thus the first of the ten branches produced at least 40 great-grandchildren of whom 26 were Quakers. Exceptionally this family has been followed out as its origins were clearly the James Coffin involvement.

James Coffin Jr., 1664-1741, was the second of this family, marrying first Love (Gardner) Coffin, 1672-1691, daughter of Capt. Richard. He then wed Ruth (Gardner) Coffin, 1676-1748, daughter of Capt. John. By this marriage, eleven non-Quaker children were born. First there was George Coffin, 1693-1727, who married Ruth (Swain) Coffin, 1695, daughter of John Jr. They had at least three children. Second there was Sarah (Coffin) Gardner, 1695-1739, wife of Judge Jeremiah Gardner, 1691-1768,

grandson of Capt. John, son of John of Boston, in 1711. They had at least seven children. Third, there was Nathan Coffin, 1696-1768, who married Lydia (Bunker) Coffin, 1700-1785, in 1717. She was a Friend through her mother, who was a daughter of magistrate James Coffin. They had ten children, at least two of whom became Quakers. Fourth there was Elisha Coffin, 1699-1722, who married Dinah (Bunker) Coffin, 1705-1778, daughter of Peleg in 1721. They had one child before his early death. Fifth there was Joshua Coffin, 1701-1722, who married Priscilla (Bunker) Coffin, 1703-1795, also in 1721 - it being a double headed wedding between two families - and ending in tragedy as the amplitude of the Bunker shipwreck of 1722 is extended. He too left one child. The sixth, Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin, 1703-1774, wed Maj. Josiah Coffin, 1698-1780, of the Peter branch in 1720, and had six children as noted earlier in this chapter. The seventh, Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, 1708-1792, married Abel Gardner, 1702-1771, in 1714, he being a non-Quaker son of minister Nathaniel. They had twelve children. The eighth Mary (Coffin) Bunker, 1710-1785, wed John Bunker, 1697-1760, son of George in 1725, and had no doubt a full family. The ninth, James Coffin Third, 1713-1784, wed Priscilla (Rawson) Coffin, 1715-1791, in 1734, and had five children. The tenth Ruth (Coffin) Coffin, 1716-1801, married Cromwell Coffin, 1709-1783, son of Ebeneezer, grandson of magistrate James in 1731, and no doubt left a family. And the eleventh, Benjamin Coffin, 1718-1793, married Rebecca (Coffin) Coffin, 1721-1714, daughter of Bartlett, son of Peter of the Vineyard, grandson of Maj. John, in 1738. They had six children. Here there were probably 75 great-grandchildren in the second line, of whom only 2 were Quakers. In the light of this, the Pinkham descent forms a strong contrast.

The third of the ten lines from James Coffin is on the distaff side, that for Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, 1667-1709, wife of Capt. and minister Nathaniel Gardner, 1669-1714, a line which is followed out in chapter fourteen. Sufficient it is to note there were 66 great grandchildren: 23 Quakers and 43 not.

The fourth line was that of Capt. Nathaniel Coffin, 1671-1721, whose wife elder, Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, 1673-1764, inherited another third of the Gayer fortune. There were nine children of whom seven married off-Island - one to the Vineyard. Still another married a Boston girl and brought her "on". He and the other two followed their mother into Meeting. The first of these was Benjamin Coffin, 1705-1780, engraver, schoolteacher, banker, Clerk of the Meeting, who married Jedidah (Folger) Coffin, 1708-1759, in Meeting in 1726, and had thirteen children. Then in 1762 Benjamin remarried, choosing Deborah (Macy) Coffin, 1726-?, daughter of Thomas. The second was Nathaniel Coffin, 1711-1800, who married Mary (Sheffield) Coffin in Boston in 1735. They raised ten Quaker children. The third Katharine (Coffin) Gardner, 1715-1798, wed Bethuel Gardner, 1708-1787, out of Meeting, in 1736. She was thus a nominal Friend. They had four children. This slender branch produced 26 great-grandchildren, all but three of whom were Quakers.

The fifth line was that of John Coffin, 1672-1747, who married Hope (Gardner) Coffin, 1669-1750, daughter of the first Quakeress. They had five children, only one of whom elected the Quaker way of life. He was Richard Coffin, 1694-1768, selectman, who married Ruth (Bunker) Coffin, daughter of Elizabeth Clark, out of Meeting in 1718., but raised twelve Quaker children. Next was Judith (Coffin) Gardner, second wife of Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner, 1688-1763, in 1719. They had eight children, three of whom became Quakers. The third was Elias Coffin, 1702-1773, who married Love (Coffin) Coffin, 1705-1782, daughter of Ebeneezer,

in 1708. They had six non-Quaker children. The fourth was Francis Coffin, 1706-1770, who married a Quaker out-of-Meeting in 1727, she being Theodate (Gorham) Coffin, 1705-1787, daughter of Shubael. They had three children, at least two of whom married into the Meeting. The fifth was Abigail (Coffin) Folger, 1708-1770, who married Zaccheus Folger in 1728, and had nine non-Quaker children; Zaccheus was son of Quaker John. There were 38 great-grandchildren in this branch, of whom 17 were Quakers.

The sixth was the line of Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, 1674-1750, wife of the men's Clerk, Nathaniel Starbuck, 1668-1753. The account of their family is to be found in Chapter Seven. There were 58 great-grandchildren in this branch, all Quakers.

The seventh was Deborah (Coffin) Bunker, ~~xxx~~ 1677-1767, wife of George Bunker, 1671-1743. In Chapter Fourteen there is some account of this family, there were at least ten great-grandchildren, five of whom were Quakers.

The eighth branch was that of Ebeneezer Coffin, 1681-1769, non-Quaker Selectman, who married Eleanor (Barnard) Coffin, 1679-1769, and had nine children as follows: Prince Coffin, 1703-1729, who married Mercy (Skiffe) Coffin, 1701-1781, in 1725, and had one child before her early death; Love (Coffin) Coffin, 1705-1782, who married Elias Coffin, 1702-1773, as noted above, and had six children; Cromwell Coffin, 1709-1783, who married Ruth (Coffin) Coffin, 1716-1801, daughter of James Jr. - also noted earlier in this chapter: Jane (Coffin) Bunker, 1712-1778, married William Bunker, 1710-1746, son of Peleg, in 1729. They no doubt had a non-Quaker family. (Some note of this family is given in Chapter Fourteen.) Alexander Coffin, 1713-1741, who married ~~xxxxxx~~ a Quaker girl, Judith (Bunker) Coffin, 1708- , , daughter of Elizabeth Clark; and had a family. Valentine Coffin, 1719-1782, bachelor, Kemball Coffin, 1771-1782, similarly unmarried; Joseph Coffin, 1719-1805, who married Judith (Coffin) Coffin, 1722-1812,

in 1740. She was a daughter of Elisha, in turn a son of James Jr. And finally, Benjamin Coffin, 1720-1793, who married Rebecca (Coffin) Coffin, -1764, daughter of Bartlett, granddaughter of Peter of Edgartwon, in 1737. Both these two last left descendants. It is difficult to fix the totals for great-grandchildren in this branch. They probably ran to about 50, of whom six are duplicates - of joint descent. There appear to have been no Quakers in the lot.

The ninth branch was that of Joseph Coffin, 1671-1719, who married Bethiah (Macy) Coffin, 1683-1738. They had seven children, one of whom married off-Island. These were Micah Coffin, 1705-1783, who married Dorcas (Coleman) Coffin, 1705-1780, daughter of Joseph, granddaughter of Thomas, at least one of their children became a Friend. The next married 6ff. The third, Zaccheus Coffin, 1710-1797, like his mother was a Friend. In 1731 he married Mary (Pinkham) Coffin, 1713-1788, daughter of Shubael, in Meeting, and raised eight Quaker children. The next, Hezekiah Coffin, 1712-1779, married Lydia (Folger) Coffin, 1722-1807, daughter of Jethro in Meeting in 1742. They had eight children. Two Quaker sisters followed. Jedidah (Coffin) Hussey, 1715-1799, wed John Hussey, 1710-1749, son of Batchelor in 1734. They had eight children. ~~Two Quaker sisters followed. Jedidah (Coffin) Hussey, 1715-1799, wed John Hussey, 1710-1749, son of Batchelor in 1734. They had eight children.~~ Miriam (Coffin) Chase, 1717- ? , wed Joseph Chase, 1717- ? , in 1737 in Meeting, and eventually emigrated. They had at least two children. The youngest Mary (Coffin) Chase, 1720- ? , wed Isaac Chase Third, 1712-1802, brother of Joseph, and similarly lived on the Vineyard. They were, however, not Quakers. There were at least 40 great-grandchildren in this branch, of whom 26 were Quakers.

The tenth branch was that of Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker-Clark, 1681-1769, who first married Jonathan Bunker, 1676-1721, and then Thomas Clark, 1665-1740, - the latter being a Quaker as was she.

An account of her family is to be found in Chapter Fourteen. It is sufficient here to note that there were 41 great-grandchildren in this branch - all Quakers.

The eleventh was Ruth (Coffin) Gardner, 1685-1748, who married Joseph Gardner, 1677-1747, son of Richard Jr., of whom some account appears in Chapter Fourteen. They had six children, only one of whom came among Friends. There were probably 40 great-grandchildren in this branch of whom seven were Quakers.

And the twelfth was Jonathan Coffin, 1692-1771, who married Hephzibah (Harker) Coffin, 1694-1773, daughter of Puritan Ebeneezer. They had seven children, as follows: Susannah (Coffin) Coffin, 1712-? , who married Robert Coffin, 1704-1757, son of Jethro of Sunset Hill in 1728, as his second wife. They had ten children. Then there was Henry Coffin, 1716-1756, who married Mary (Woodbury) Coffin in 1738. They had two children. Next came Anna (Coffin) Paddack, 1720-1802, who married Paul Paddack, 1723-1799, Quaker son of Nathaniel, out-of-Meeting in 1740. They probably had a non-Quaker family. Jonathan Coffin Jr., the fourth of the family, married Priscilla (Coffin) Coffin, 1725-1796, daughter of Maj. Josiah, in 1743. They had two children; James Coffin, 1725-1757, followed, marrying Jemima (Swain) Coffin, 1733-1822, daughter of John Jr., in 1752. They too no doubt had a Puritan family. Two girls finish off the list. Hephzibeth (Coffin) Coffin, 1729-1785, married Peleg Coffin, 1719- , son of Bartlett, in 1740; and Mary (Coffin) Hussey, 1731-1796, who wed Christopher Hussey, 1724-1785, son of Silvanus in 1743, out-of-Meeting. In both cases there were families. At least 40 great-grandchildren constituted this twelfth branch, none of them Quakers. Thus in following the outline for other families there were 270 great-grandchildren of whom 68 were Quakers. If the distaff descent is taken into account, the figures rise to a total of 530 of whom 221 were Quakers. Obviously the James Coffin family

was the largest on the Island. It ran to 327 when children, in-laws, grandchildren, etc. were counted - only 10 of 64 marriages were with off-Islanders. And only 10 were Quaker marriages. 17 Friends looked after these: nine women and eight men. Hannah Bunker, Benjamin Barney, and Barnabas Gardner each acted twice. No one of them belonged to this family. Both Judge Peters' and Magistrate James' families are scarcely comprehended if only the record is of Nantucket M.M. As it is, the head swims in trying to keep track of such an enormous proliferation of nearly identical names.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

CHAPTER 19.

NON-TYPICAL ~~FAMILIES~~ QUAKER FAMILIES IX AND X

THE JOHN GARDNERS

1728

John Gardner, 1625-1706, though older than his brother, Capt. Richard, only came to Nantucket in 1672, eight years later. John's wife, Priscilla (Grafton) Gardner, 1630-1717, was no Quaker - but died the year the Great Mary Starbuck ended her earthly pilgrimage - appropriately, as Mary's influence precipitated the Quaker side of Nantucket, while Priscilla's did the same for the Congregationalists - allowing for the original Annabaptist approach to wither. John and Priscilla brought over eight children with them. Two others were born on the Island. It is not necessary to recall the details of the "bloodless" revolution of the 1670s in which John Gardner played the role of democratic protagonist. That he emerged on top - as Tristram Coffin's successor as the chief magistrate, tends to obscure the fact that religiously these two were closer together than they were to Thomas Macy or Peter Folger, respectively politically associated with the two chief magistrates. Peace between the two parties was symbolized in the Sunset Hill House, which appropriately enough became a fortress of Calvinism, while ~~Ehrk~~

Elihu Coleman's far west moorside home was equally the symbol of Meeting strength buttressed by Macy and Folger interests. Seen in this way, Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, is the more startling figure - abandoning Sunset Hill for the moors.

Sunset Hill was built, in fact, by Judge Peter Coffin, who emphasized his off-Island character ~~disputs~~ despite fifteen years' residence on the Island. So the children of John Gardner Jr., 1754-1720, soon left the Island to marry his Boston sweetheart, and settle there. But in his case, two of his sons elected to return to the Island. One was John Gardner Third, 1690-1759, who married Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, 1691-1772, his cousin, daughter of Jethro of Sunset Hill, in 1710. They had no children, but he filled a responsible place in public affairs. They lived in an elegance which most Friends shunned. His younger brother, Judge Jeremiah Gardner, 1691-1768, filled an important place in county affairs, having married in 1711, Sarah (Coffin) Gardner, 1695-1739, daughter of James Jr. They raised a numerous family, probably ten or so, as members of the Congregational minority on the Island.

John and Priscilla's eldest daughter, Priscilla (Gardner) Arthur, 1656-1700, married an on-comer, John Arthur, 1655-1700, a Puritan. They had four children: John Arthur Jr., 1684-1719, who married Mary (Folger) Arthur, 1684-1720, in 1705, and were parents to six children, only one of whom became a Friend - and emigrated to Dartmouth; Priscilla (Arthur) Bunker, 1685-1721, who married Thomas Bunker, 1680-1721, in 1705, and was apparently lost at sea in the great Bunker shipwreck of 1721. They had no children. Margaret (Arthur) Rawson, 1695-1757, who married Wilson Rawson, 1690-1730, in 1715, he being still another off-Islander. They had two children. And Elizabeth (Arthur) Swain, 1698-1741, who married Eliakim Swain, 1694-1750, in 1717, and had a family of ten or so children. The Arthurs are treated here as were the Pinkhams in connection with James Coffin's family, exceptionally. This branch produced 18

great-grandchildren - only one a Quaker.

George Gardner, 1660-1750, came next, marrying Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner, 1674-1766, daughter of the Great Mary. They had four children, all raised Puritans: Hephzibah (Gardner) Gardner, 1696-1742, who married Peleg Gardner, 1691-1718, non-Quaker son of minister Nathaniel, in 1714. Five years later, in 1719, a widow, she remarried William Gardner, 1691-1739. Neither marriage produced children, William was a son of Richard Gardner Jr. (whose wife and mother were Friends); Priscilla (Gardner) Pinkham, 1698-1755, who married Barnabas Pinkham, ~~1699~~ 1699-1772, in 1720, was likewise childless; Thomas Gardner, 1701-1784, whose wife was Hannah (Swain) Gardner, 1700-1779, daughter of John Jr., whom he married in 1724. They had seven children of whom at least one joined Meeting; and Grafton Gardner, 1707-1789, who married Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, 1710-1796, in 1730. Her father was Enoch, son of Maj. John of Edgartwon. They had seven children. There were 14 great-grandchildren in this branch of the family, all Congregationalists, except one Quaker.

A third son, Benjamin Gardner, 1664-1730, never married, but after his mother's death made his home with George and Eunice. A second daughter, Anna(Gardner) Coffin, 1667-1745, married Edward Coffin, 1669-1710, son of Judge Peter and emigrated. A fourth son, Nathaniel Gardner, 1668-1740, never married, but with Benjamin stayed with their married brother. The third daughter, Mary (Gardner) Coffin, 1670-1767, was the mistress of Sunset Hill, married to Jethro Coffin, 1663-1726, also a son of Judge Peter. They had six children as follows: John Coffin, 1687-1768, who married Lydia (Gardner) Coffin, 1687-1788, in 1705: she being a daughter of Richard Gardner Jr. They had eight Congregational children. The next, a daughter, married off-Island. Then came Priscilla (Gardner) Gardner, 1691-1772, already noted as the childless wife of John Gardner Third, 1690-1759, - married in 1710.

Maj. Josiah Coffin, 1698-1780, next followed, marrying Elizabeth (Coffin) Gardner, 1703-1774, in 1720; she being a daughter of James Coffin Jr. They raised six Congregational children. Abigail (Coffin) Woodbury, 1700-1770, was next, marrying Nathaniel Woodbury, 1700-1741, of Boston, who established the first summer home on Nantucket. They married in 1725, just as the Congregational Meetinghouse was built, and raised five children, all good Puritans. And then there was Robert Coffin, 1704-1757, who first married Parnel (Coffin) Coffin, 1712-1727, Quaker daughter of Samuel in 1725, and then Susannah (Coffin) Coffin, 1712- , in 1728, daughter of Jonathan, grand-daughter of magistrate James. They had ten children. There were 29 great-grandchildren in this branch (a repeat of the list under Judge Peter Coffin - to emphasize the Sunset Hill link).

Rachel (Gardner) Brown, 1671-1705, was Capt. John's fourth daughter. She married John Brown Third, 1662-1695, and had four children. There was Hannah (Brown) Coffin, 1686-1730, who married Tristram Coffin, 1685-1730, son of Peter Coffin Jr., in 1706. They raised a family of Puritans. Then came Rachel (Brown) Chase, 1687- ? , who married James Chase, 1686- ? , son of Isaac - and then emigrated to Martha's Vineyard. And then there was George Brown, 1693-1775, who married Susannah (Cartwright) Brown, 1695-1719, daughter of Nicholas in 1718. After her death he remarried, in Meeting, Abigail (Trott) Brown, 1693-1767, daughter of Anna Trott, Quaker elder, in 1720. They had six Quaker children. There were thus probably fifteen great-grandchildren of this branch of Nantucket, six Quakers in the lot. Again this family is treated exceptionally.

A fifth daughter emigrated marrying away, while the sixth and final, Ruth (Gardner) Coffin, 1676-1748, married James Coffin Jr., 1664-1741, as his second wife. They had eleven Puritan children, ~~xxxpxxxxxdixg~~ as the account in the preceeding chapter indicates. One married Judge Jeremiah Coffin, another wed Maj. Josiah Coffin.

If their thirteen children are deleted from the total, there were still 67 great-grandchildren in this last prolific line - two of whom were Quakers.

Thus there were 24 great-grandchildren only,(one Quaker) in the narrow sense of estimating the family. In the wider sense there were 152 (9 Quakers). The total family in the narrow sense came only to 55; the greater part were Congregationalists.

## THE NATHANIEL BARNARDS

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1728

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Like the Gardner family the Barnards begin with two brothers - but unlike the Barnards, only one branch left male heirs. Thomas Barnard, 1600-1680, and Robert Barnard, 1605-1662, were original settlers. Thomas was a widower, a Proprietor, credited with establishing the sheep raising industry; a man who brought one son with him, Nathaniel Barnard, 1642-1718, then aged 21. In fact we do not know whether or not other children - probably older - atayed on "the main". Robert was the first male settler to die on Nantucket,leaving his wife, Joanna (Harvey) Barnard, 1610-1705, the oldest white inhabitant, when Nantucket Meeting was founded. They brought four children to the Island with them - and it is possible they also left some grown offspring behind. The eldest of these four was John Barnard, 1642-1669, the same age as his cousin Nathaniel. In 1668 he married Bethia (Folger) Barnard, 1646-1669, daughter of Peter - and they started an enormous list of Nantucketers who lost their lives at sea - in this case drowned between Tuckerneck and Chappaquiddick. Eleazer Folger, the school

teacher, congressman, who was with them as a youth survived clinging to some wreckage. John and Bethiah were childless; and thus ended the junior Barnard line. There were three sisters: Mary (Barnard) Barnard, 1645-1718, who married her cousin Nathaniel after her father's death, but before her brothers - and from them comes the family examined here:- There was also Sarah (Barnard) Skiffe, 1650-1732, one of whose daughters became a Friend and a non-Quaker son was brutally murdered by pirates; James Skiffe who was a Vineyarder - and the family lived there till his death; Martha (Barnard) Rogers, 1652-1718, also married a Vineyarder; William Rogers, of a Puritan family, whose descendants on Nantucket were not inclined towards Friends.

Nathaniel and Mary were second generation Nantucketers, though both born off-Island; like Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck, or John and Deborah Macy, or Stephen and Martha Hussey, or Stephen and Mary Coffin, or William and Mary Bunker, or Richard and Sarah Gardner, or John and Priscilla Gardner. In fact these and a few other couples were contemporaries. They composed the Nantucket settlement from roughly the establishment at Capaum till the turn of the century, - with some older folk and "rafts" of children. Nathaniel and Mary Barnard were typical of these. They raised nine children.

The eldest Mary (Barnard) Folger, 1667-1736, married John Folger, 1659-1732, a much younger brother of her aunt Bethiah (who was drowned) in 1687. Half of their eight children joined the Meeting. The second was John Barnard, 1670-1746, who wed Sarah (Macy) Barnard, 1677-1748, in 1697. It will be observed that the the two eldest Barnards married people who elected the Quaker way of life - while they stayed away. Apparently the Barnards were gentlefolk to whom Quakerism appeared somewhat obscurantist. John and Mary had five children - all Quakers. The third was Nathaniel Barnard Jr., 1672-1718, himself a member, but disappearing early, in fact the year his parents and his aunt Martha Rogers died.

Nathaniel first married Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin-Barnard, 1665-1706, daughter of the Great Mary, widow of Peter Jr., in 1700. They had no children, and the courts decided to relieve Nathaniel of any responsibility for her children. The next year, 1707, he remarried Dorcas (Manning) Barnard, 1685-1708, daughter of Dennis, a newcomer. But she died directly - leaving him a daughter. Then in 1709 Nathaniel remarried a second time - choosing Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard, 1678-1760, daughter of Stephen Sr., and widow of Peter "the younger". The marriage took place in Meeting as Judith was a strong Quaker - later sat head of the Women's Meeting. They had four Quaker children before his death. She lived to marry twice again.

The fourth was Stephen Barnard, 1674-1748, who married first Damaris (Gardner) Barnard, 1674-1696, daughter of Joseph in 1694. She died Directly, so secondly he remarried Hoptot (Gardner) Barnard, 1685-1750, in 1708, daughter of John Gardner Jr., of Boston and therefor sister to John third and Judge Jeremiah Gardner, strong Congregationalists. Apparently they had but one son, and he married into the Meeting, when it was a more respectable thing to do to become a Quaker. The fifth, a girl, married on to the mainland. The sixth, Eleanor (Barnard) Coffin, 1679-1769, married Ebeneezer Coffin, 1678-1750, in 1700, to raise nine non-Quaker children. He was a son of Magistrate James, it will be recalled. Benjamin Barnard, 1681-1729, the seventh, married Judith (Gardner) Barnard, 1693-1765, daughter of Minister Nathaniel, in Meeting in 1711. They raised six Quaker children. The eighth, Ebeneezer Barnard, 1684-1767, wed a widow, Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, 1689-1771, daughter of Stephen, widow of Jonathan, out-of-Meeting in 1722. But they joined and raised four children in the Meeting. Finally the eighth, Abigail (Barnard) Chase, 1686-1760, married Abraham Chase, son of Isaac Sr., of Martha's Vineyard, and went there to live. The Barnards were thus a smallish family. There were 37 grandchildren

of Nathaniel and Mary on the Island, of whom 25 were members of Meeting. Thus it is clear the genteel Puritanism of this family went over into Quakerism. The total figure for the family ran to 57, but this is not impressive. Only two of eleven marriages were with off-Islanders. One was a wedding under the care of the Meeting, without committee appointments. One was with appaintments, at least in this sense the Barnards were a non-typical Quaker family.

But in turning to the households developed by the grandchildren we move further into the Quaker orbit. First, John and Mary Barnard's brood: here three only married, Jemima (Barnard) Coleman, 1699-1779, wed minister Elihu Coleman, 1699-1789, in 1720, and raised eight Quaker children. Elder Robert Barnard, 1702-1765, married Hephzibah (Coffin) Barnard, 1708-1782, also elder in 1726. She was a daughter of minister Stephen Coffin. They raised eleven Quaker children. Then there was overseer Matthew Barnard, 1705-1788, who married Mary (Tebbetts) Barnard, 1707-1785, daughter of Ephriam, from Dover, in 1726 as well. They too raised eleven Quaker children. Samuel Barnard, 1707-1772, never married, nor did his sister Hannah Barnard, 1711-1788. After Samuel's death, Hannah probably went to live with her sister Jemima and family.

Nathaniel's daughter by his second wife, Dorcas (Barnard) Barney, 1707- ? , married Jacob Barney, of Newport in 1726 and went there to raise her family. He was a brother of Benjamin. Elizabeth (Barnard) Coleman, 1710-1729, the next daughter, by the second wife, married Barnabas Coleman, 1708-1781, son of John Jr. in 1728, and then died directly, leaving one Quaker son. The next, a son, Peter Barnard, 1713-1775, married Anna (Starbuck) Barnard, 1716-1785, son of tne Men's Clerk, in 1734. They had nine Quaker children. Nathaniel Barnard, Third, 1717-1734, was lost at sea, and Eunice Barnard, the youngest, 1714-1727, died young. The senior branch produced 21 Quaker great-grandchildren and the second, ten. The third son, Stephen, had one son Thomas Barnard, 1709-1780, who married Sarah (Hoag) Barnard, 1710-1784, in 1735. She was a daughter of Benjamin

of Hampton M.M. There were seven children in this branch.

The fourth son, Benjamin's children married as follows:- Timothy Barnard, 1712-1749, wed Mary (Bunker) Barnard, 1707-1750, in 1732 and had six children. She was a daughter of Peleg. Abigail (Barnard) Macy, 1714- ? , wed Robert Macy, 1710-1771, in 1731, and raised ten children. Ruth (Barnard) Clark, 1717- ? , married Peter Clark, 1707-1750, in 1735, and had seven children, and then in 1758 she married Joseph Jenkins, 1713-1805, the minister, and had two more children. Francis Barnard, 1718-1800, married Elizabeth (Macy) Barnard, 1722-1765, daughter of Thomas in 1741. They had eight children. Abishai Barnard, 1722-1790, wed Hannah (Coffin) Barnard, 1723-1797, in 1743. She was a daughter of Peter of the Vineyard. They had nine children, Nathaniel Barnard, 1729-1749, was lost at sea. And Mary (Barnard) Starbuck, 1729-1817, married Christopher Starbuck, 1731-1815, son of Tristram in 1751. They had nine children. There were thus 51 great-grandchildren in Benjamin's branch.

Finally the Ebeneezer branch went as follows: Stephen Barnard, 1723-1813, who wed Eunice (Starbuck) Barnard, 1728-1750, daughter of minister William in 1744. They had two children and then he remarried Phebe (Swain) Barnard, 1734-1794, in 1754, she being a daughter of George. They had six more children. William Barnard, 1724-1771, was next, marrying Mary (Coffin) Barnard, 1724-1777, daughter of miller Samuel, in 1743. They had eight children. The third Jemima (Barnard) Coffin, 1726-1756 wed Tristram Coffin, 1701-1763, son of Peter of Edgartown in 1743. They had six children. And Lydia (Barnard) Folger, 1730-1800, married Jonathan Folger Jr.,1727-1812, in 1750. They had eight children. This made 30 great-grandchildren in this branch - or a grand total of 119 - all Quakers! Thus the grand total rises to 176. In 32 marriages total only three were with off-Islanders.

As for marriage committees the following statistics appear: 22 men Friends and 20 women Friends arranged 22 marriages. Benjamin Barney served seven times and Mary Folger, five. Otherwise the service was widely distributed. No Barnard appeared to be appointed - unless once, when elder Robert's wife Hephzibah took one turn. Here is a strange phenomenon; a family goes over to Quakerism in its entireity in the fourth generation, but is given no responisbility in marriage counselling!

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

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CHAPTER 20.

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THE EIGHTH THREE YEARS 1728-1730

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The third decade of Nantucket Monthly Meeting was one of quiet enlargement, punctuated by the building of the largest place of worship between Newport and Boston, and by the incidence of the recurring quarrel over property which had plagued the Island in the 1672s and the 1710s - and which would recur in the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s. The first third of the decade was one in which the wisdom of building a new Meetinghouse was discussed, and no cloud to foreshadow internal conflict yet appearing.

Parson White, however, baptized his first nine candidates (Puritan Coffins and Calefs) in the summer of 1728, while the Meeting had created a select gathering of ministers and elders to promote its interests, and the visitors committee became much more vigorous. Perhaps the establishment of the Select Meeting had a revitalizing effect on the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders - at least they reported that Yearly Meeting was unusually good in the summer of 1728. In any case visitors were chaired by Jethro Starbuck in 1729, whose committee composed of John Macy, Nathaniel Coleman and Jethro Gardner reported early in 1731 they had visited all the Quaker families on Nantucket - no mean task in itself. There were about 60 Quaker households on Nantucket in 1728 which made for 15 visits per committee member - surely a six weeks entreprise, if undertaken individually - or 24 weeks if attempted en group - which probably was the case.

Financially the Meeting was comfortable and active. In the summer of 1728, Elihu Coleman, master carpenter, repaired the Meeting-house; and £6 were sent to Richard Partridge, one time member of Dover M.M., now appointee of the Meeting for Sufferings in London to watch over Quaker interests coming before the Board of Trade. Nantucket's contribution was intended to help assure that the Massachusetts laws regarding Baptists and Quakers be disallowed - a happy eventuality indeed, which was reported on Nantucket in 1729. Another £6 was sent to Thomas Richardson, Quarterly Meeting treasurer, as part of the yearly "quota". At the same time £18 was spent on repairing the 1711 meetinghouse. £30 was a large sum to spend at one go! Then a month later, upon the recommendation of Joseph Smith of Providence, (third visit) and his companion, Joseph Edmunds, (a young Greenwich member) another £10 was given to Providence Monthly Meeting to help build their Meeginghouse at Mendham, Mass. This sudden burst of generosity may have reflected the appointment of Nathaniel Starbuck as treasurer. It appears that Thomas Macy had served in that capacity only six years. Why Nathaniel should take on the financial side, at the same time he became clerk of the Select Meeting is puzzling. The Meeting did pretty well financially in any case, as Nathaniel reported a total of £25/0/10 in the Meeting treasury early in 1729. They then gave Joseph Hamblin £4. This newcomer was apparently a whaler, probably elderly, who had come over from Yarmouth Meeting. Perhaps he was disabled and then moved back.

That year the Meeting set aside 45 shillings to look after the transport of visitors to the General Meeting:- who incidentally included Ephriam Tibbetts, and his wife, Rose Tibbetts. Earlier Jethro Starbuck and Richard Macy were paid a reasonable figure for fencing in the burial ground and Meetinghouse. Nor were the ideological fences neglected either, for £3 were dispatched in 1729 to improve upon the stock of Barclays Apology received in 1727, and

45 shillings sent to Ephraim Hicks, for him to send Quaker primers for use in the "cent" school.

But in 1730 when Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Barney reported from summer Quarterly Meeting that Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was seeking funds for a Meetinghouse at Meshanticut, Nantucket decided not to contribute, "as we are about to build one ourselves". This intention was formalized late in 1730 by a minute authorizing the construction of a Meetinghouse "for publick worship on thuths account". From now on the purse strings were more closely held. The whaling season in 1729-1730 gave clue to the basis for generosity, for the gross take rose to £3,200 at £7 a ton. No less than 25 vessells put out that year. Prosperity may be clearly sensed when it is noted that the town budget ran £120, for the preceeding year. The town was full of nautical industry as well - ropewalks, cooper or barrell shops, iron forges, sail lofts, etc. At least six furnaces on the mainland and 20 forces supplied the harpoons and other cutting instruments needed for the whale fishery. The winter season was the time for scraping down up-bottomed sloops - their rigging having been carefully stored in warehouses.

Contacts with mainland Quakerism appear to have continued on the haphazard lines of the preceeding decade. In addition to the advocates of the Mendham Fund in the summer of 1728, five other visitors came along. Of Robert Willsons, an English Friend, and his companion Joseph Taylor, we know just about nothing. Rose Tibbetts was along for the marriage of a Dover-descended cousin (eighth visit). And two Gwynedd, Pennsylvania members, Evan Evans and John Evans appeared. The former came to America in 1698 from his native Wales bringing John his brother, who apparently was a very modern type of Quaker, always finding contemporary

expression of eternal verities. Evan Evans was described as "steady and inward". John Evans as exercising "judgement to the line and righteousness to the plummet". The latter significantly served on the Discipline Committee of Philadelphia Y.M. in 1755. When they came Nathaniel Starbuck was asked to attend autumn Quarterly Meeting, and to carry the report to be penned by Jethro Starbuck and Jethro Gardner. Winter and Spring reports appear to have been omitted, though the treasurer-clerk got to Yearly Meeting in 1729, and a report was sent to the summer Quarterly Meeting by Jethro Starbuck and John Macy. Dinah Starbuck bestirred herself to report at that time for Women Friends.

Coincidentally a Hampton-Nantucket wedding brought at least one old Friend on to the Island: Ann Stanyon, Anna Stanyon (on the Island in 1720), Sarah Hoag, Anthony Field Jr. and John Burling all appeared. In the autumn of 1729 John Macy and Nathaniel Starbuck were asked to attend Quarterly Meeting, their report having been prepared by Jethro Starbuck, working with John. The Newport records indicate without question that the representatives attended - and listened to a controversy which was aired between Thomas Rodman and Samuel Clark, both of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. This Quarterly Meeting was duly reported back and then more visitors appeared. These included John Cadwallader, (previous visitor in 1717) and Ebeneezer Long from Pennsylvania with Martha Wood of Abington (Penna.) as well as Ruth Fish of Newport (soon to marry into Dover M.M.)

That winter Elihu Coleman produced his "small piece of Manuscript" against slavery, which was sent up to Quarterly and Yearly Meeting for "imprimatur". Six months before a message from Benjamin Holme, the anti-slavery advocate of a visit some fifteen years in the past, was read - and may well have moved Elihu to write. Yearly Meeting had advised against slavery in 1727. Not till 1733 was permission granted to publish this second Nantucket

literary effusion. Curiously it raised no great storm. Yet some Newport Friends were slavers as well as slave-owners. In Philadelphia in 1729 Ralph Sandiford met with ostracism from Friends for a similar stand. In any case the manuscript involved Jehtro Starbuck and John Macy in a special winter report, to which one from Dinah Starbuck was joined. The next anti-Quaker pamphlet was published in 1737 by Benjamin Lay, an eccentric Philadelphian. His work met with no better reception than that of Sandiford.

The Nantucket Court records for 1729 note that one local Indian was fined for Beating Silvanus Hussey's negro. It would appear that some Nantucketers were so insensitive to Coleman's concern as to compound existing slavery with punishing the already long-suffering Indian, in the name of "protecting" human pooperty this time in the form of Negro bondage.

Elihu Coleman's pamphlet was entitled A testimony against that anti-Christian practise of making slaves of men .... Its tone was emotional, its course direct, though grammatically poor. Its 22 pages are divided into four sections. First comes his philosophical stand regarding slavery. Then follow citations of others similarly placed. Next comes a warning as to the damages slavery produces psychologically speaking, and finally comes a warning to those who ignore such damages. Coleman indicated that he knew God "is Some Small degree and Measure", had searched the scriptures, and had come to the conclusion that he should remain a Quaker: whose principles he found to be "undeniable". Quaker principles made him to cry out against all known evils. All tender hearted Christians viewed slavery as pernicious. Why? Because only the pride and idleness of the master stood as the basis of the institution. Superfluities are cultivated tastes and lead eventually to evil. Slaveholders are also in fact accessories after the fact of kidnapping and murder. How much sooner should Christians free slaves when

Turks so act when a slave turns Muslim? George Fox's Gospel Family Order, and both biblical testaments, were cited; and lest the Puritan object, Coleman argued that freedom in outward circumstances was rooted in free will. Finally he warned "that God will not forgive what is in our power to help" - a good Puritan doctrine: and asked the reader to search his conscience for further confirmation of his thesis.

Not till 1744 did Yearly Meeting confirm its 1727 stand against the slave trade, so we may presume that Elihu Coleman's anti-slavery influence was small. Long after his death his work was reprinted in New Bedford in 1725 - probably through the efforts of William Rotch. A third edition appeared a half century later - and Coleman's Broadside was the object of a small monograph in 1939.

1825(?)

Visitors to General Meeting in 1730 included "Bishop" John Salkeld, of Chester (visited 1717) - and Mary Pennell, likewise from Chester. Joshua Lord of Woodbury N.J., and Mary Lewis from Pennsylvania, were the other two travellers from beyond New England. Sarah (Sherman) Chase of Swansea, (soon to be remarried) arrived with Sarah Norton, a kinswoman (third visit), while Rose (Austin) Tibbetts was making her nearly annual pilgramage.

At this point Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Barney were asked to attend Quarterly Meeting - the former obviously to speak on behalf of his literary work, while the Clerk and Nathaniel Coleman prepared the report. In the autumn of 1730, the more usual Jethro Starbuck and John Macy who wrote, while the Women's Clerk prepared their equivalent message. Adam Mott Jr. came on for an 11th visit, bringing Thomas Franklin and Obadiah Lawrence (on the Island in 1722), two Friends from Rhode Island. Like most of the visitors in this three year period these apparently left no account of their visit to the Island.

What then was the major interest of this "age of prosperity

in Zion" as it has been called? The answer concerned marriages, marriage irregularities and other irregularities. At the outset Jonathan Folger, who had lost his wife of ten years standing in 1727, sought union with Deborah (Paddack) Bunker, widow of Benjamin (who had been drowned in 1721). Between them they already had ten children to train up as young Quakers. Jabez Macy and Jethro Gardner joined Hannah Bunker and Judith Barnard to oversee the marriage, which took place as the Meeting sent its £10 to Mendham. Jonathan and Deborah were to have 22 years together, before her death, when he would marry a third time. They had no children by their second marriage.

Irregularity was more pronounced with the second marriage, however. In this case ~~of Nathaniel, proposed marriage~~ Silvanus Allen, a brother of Nathaniel, proposed marriage late that summer with Jemima Starbuck, daughter of Jethro, the current Quarterly Meeting correspondent. Richard Macy and Elihu Coleman made enquiries with Mary Folger and Deborah Macy. Rose Tibbetts appeared to attend, and probably speak at the wedding; but a year later Silvanus Allen wrote a letter in which he said he and Jemima "desire Mercy from God and begg forgiveness from ye people of God" (for pre-marital sex relations). The meeting accepted this oblique apology but with some reticence. Earlier it will be recalled the leading Starbuck household had suffered a similar irregularity. One curious detail is observed inasmuch as the actual marriage took place before the "second" Monthly Meeting at which it was confirmed that Elihu Coleman and Richard Macy were to oversee the ceremony. Did the couple suddenly rise in fifth-day Meeting to repeat their vows spontaneously without waiting for the Monthly Meeting to act? Or had her condition become too obvious to wait longer? They had eight children all told and lived together 57 years. Right after the Allen-Starbuck wedding, Theophilas Pinkham and Deborah Paddack, respectively the brother of Shubael and Deborah Macy, and the daughter

of Nathaniel Paddack and Ann (Bunker) Paddack, (sister of Daniel), sought permission to marry. Jethro Gardner and the recently remarried Jonathan Folger were named to service along with Mary Jenkins and Hannah Bunker. This wedding took place about the time Joseph Hamblen received largesse from Friends. Theophilas and Deborah lived together 30 years, when she died and he remarried. Their seven children were not closely bound to the Meeting.

Even before the Pinkham-Paddack ceremony took place, Barnabas Coleman, son of John and Priscilla, appeared with Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Judith Wilcox - in fact the son of the head of Men's Meeting married the daughter of the head of Women's Meeting! Indeed this would seem to prove an auspicious union - but as fate would have it, Elizabeth died in childbirth in 1729, leaving a son; so that Barnabas would remarry before long. Jethro Starbuck and Batchelor Hussey acted along with Abigail Hussey and Deborah (Macy) Russell. This last named member had recently come into the Meeting - being a sister to the three Macy brothers and to Sarah Barnard. Her husband, Daniel Russell, appears to have come on to Nantucket about the time Nantucket Monthly Meeting began - from Dartmouth - but was no Quaker. Notwithstanding Deborah Russell was early named an overseer.

Again before the Coleman - Barnard wedding took place, Caleb Stratton, step-grandson of the aging Elizabeth Cartwright, proposed marriage with Lois Odar, a cousin of Judith Wilcox's Folger children; and great-granddaughter of the late original Sarah Shattuck. She was unique in her family to elect to join Friends, whereas the Quaker influence in the Trott - Cartwright appeared to be somewhat dominant. To the service of this marriage the Meeting appointed Benjamin Barnard and Elihu Coleman, along with Judith Wilcox and Mary Folger. "Grandmother" Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright would die before the year was out, aged 91. She left no known descendants. Caleb and Lois had 11 children during their 27 years

together. She then died and Caleb remarried out-of-Meeting. In fact Quakerism sat lightly in this household. Another death in the family in 1729 was that of Sarah (Gardner) Folger, non-Quaker mother of Sarah Odar, who was aged 77. Between the time of the Coleman - Barnard and Stratton - Odar nuptials, there occurred a "worldly" marriage, by which Thomas Jenkins, eldest son of Metthew and Mary appeared before a magistrate with Judith Folger, sister to Leah Gardner. Eventually they came into the Meeting as active participants. Their marriage lasted 28 years. This branch of the Folgers preserved the literary - classical tradition of the first of their name, and were thus a great asset in balancing out a too sectarian influence in the Society of Friends on the Island. All three weddings occurred as the burial ground was to be fenced in. There were thus six marriages involving Nantucket Friends in 1728.

The first wedding in 1729 involved Richard Worth, almost middle-aged bachelor brother of William and Joseph, who chose Sarah Hoag, daughter of Joseph and Sarah of Streatham (N.H.), members of Hampton M.M. The ministers Elihu Coleman and William Starbuck served on the committee of enquiry with Experience Coffin and Judith Macy. Sarah's mother and perhaps as many as seven other kinfolk came on for the wedding which was held directly after the close of General Meeting in 1729. Among these was Sarah's mother, the minister Sarah Hoag, who probably preached or prayed at the wedding Meeting. This was apparently a happy marriage, though Richard Worth was to die in 13 years, and Sarah to take her family back to the North Shore some years time after his death. They had nine children.

The second wedding in 1729 involved another somewhat confirmed bachelor in the figure of minister Nathaniel Coleman, who chose the widow of Nathaniel Gardner Jr. (lost in 1727). She was Mary (Folger) Gardner, daughter of Judith Wilcox and already mother to two small children. This marriage towered

above all the others, as far as potential prestige was involved. To the service of enquiry, minister William Starbuck and his young cousin, Benjamin Starbuck, were named, with "Queen" Anna Starbuck working with Experience Coffin, and to this wedding came three off-Islanders, Robert Cathcart, Ebeneezer Tiedale and Joshua Walrond; possibly commercial associates of Coleman from Newport, probably all Quakers. Nathaniel and Mary were destined to live 33 years together. They had, however, only three children.

Requests for the third and fourth weddings in 1729 were made simultaneously. First Tristram Starbuck, son of the Clerk, asked to marry Deborah Coffin, daughter of miller Samuel: and then George Swain, brother of the wayward William, sought the hand of Love Paddack, sister to Daniel, and Deborah Rinkham, (daughter of Nathaniel and Ann). To enquire into clearness Jethro Folger and the recently married Nathaniel Coleman were chosen for Tristram, while John Macy and Jethro Gardner agreed to look into George Swain. The women were satisfied that Hannah Bunker and Abial Clasby could handle both of the young women involved. The two marriages took place at the end of the year - the Swain-Paddack wedding coming a few days ahead of the Starbuck-coffin affair. Tristram and Deborah were destined to celebrate their diamond wedding anniversary (60th) while George and Love outdid them to reach a 63rd year together. Each couple had five children. In time Love Swain became a weighty elder.

The last requested union in 1729 took place in 1730 and gave rise to concern. This was for Robert Gardner and Jedidah Folger, eldest of Jethro and Mary's brood. Robert was the only one of his family to come among Friends, though both his father and mother were grandchildren of Sarah Austin (the visiting minister from 1708 to 1711). Robert must have been a somewhat "wild" lad, as Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Barney, his committee men soon discovered. So it was that John Macy and Jethro Gardner were asked to help the

original two procure a proper apology from Robert before his wedding be authorized. Eventually the paper appeared, and read in part;"Friends as my offense is made publickly by ye accusation of a young woman tho not to yt decree as she has accused me, yet I acknowledge by behaviour with her was so uncomely yt I am affraid I offendad ye Great God". The couple were then safely wed. Experience Coffin and Sarah Barnard had meanwhile held Jedidah's hand. Not many couples required a special adjourned Monthly Meeting called especially to look after their immediate future. This one allowed for a total of ten Quaker weddings in two years - two with problems. Despite the embarrasing beginning, Robert and Jedidah entered into a 27 year marriage, in which they had no less than 13 childrem.

Early in 1730 the Meeting took account of Nathaniel Paddack and Shubael Coffin, who had "been excessive in taking strong lickqor to their own Scandal and Shame and ye Great Sorrow of ye Meeting". The overseers were asked to get the two to condemn their conduct for "ye peace and quiet of ye Church". What was wrong? Both were married to pious women at least, and certainly Shubael was troubled to being childless. Perhaps Nathaniel resented the unconscious air of superiority which the old-line settlers naturally assumed. He was, it will be recalled, of Cape extraction.

Six months later the two delinquants were warned that if no acknowledgement did not appear directly - they would be disowned. Soon afterwards Nathaniel produced a "Uriah Heepy" paper in which he grossly overworked the word "humble"; Shubael's consisted of a short business-like request that Friends forget what was past. Unfortunately in 1731 the Meeting felt called upon to issue a "testimony and Condemnation against ye disorderly Conversation of Shubael Coffin". That was when the town fined him for drunken and disorderly conduct. Batchelor Hussey and John Macy were asked to inform

Shubael of the judgement. So the third disownment on Nantucket took place. Shubael died six year later in 1737 of alcoholism. Priscilla, his Starbuck wife, followed him to the grave, broken-hearted. Thus ended the marriage intended to symbolize the union of whaling to sheep shearing; Nathaniel Paddack, however, continued as a member.

Four weddings were initiated in 1730. To start with, Barzillai Folger, learned brother of Leah Gardner, and Judith Jenkins, appeared, to seek the hand of Phebe Coleman, daughter of the head of the Men's Meeting. Jethro Folger and Benjamin Barney got busy as did Deborah (Paddack) Bunker-Folger and Judith Barnard. Alas before a year had passed the young people had to issue an apology for pre-marital sex relations! Notwithstanding they lived happily together for 60 years and were blessed with eleven children.

Meanwhile Peter Jenkins, brother of Thomas, elected Abigail Gardner, orphan of minister Nathaniel, and were favored with the committees active for Barzillai Folger and Phebe Coleman. In this case there was no irregularity. Then before either couple were married, Benjamin Starbuck, the Clerk's second son, sought marriage with Dinah Coffin, daughter of the late Stephen Coffin - obviously a wedding of distinction. Benjamin Barney and William Starbuck seemed appropriate instruments to act on behalf of the Meeting, with Damaris Coffin and Sarah Barnard. This was not fated to be a lasting union for Benjamin went down to a watery grave a year later when serving on his uncle Thomas Hathaway's sloop. All hands were lost - leaving his aunt Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway a widow. However Peter and Abigail lived together 39 years and became parents to ten children. For a long time they resided in Edgartown.

The fourth union was that for Richard Mitchell, first of his name on Nantucket, ~~son~~ scion of a late affluent Newport Quaker merchant of that name. He wed Mary Starbuck daughter of the Women's Clerk, as 1731 was coming in. Minister Elihu Coleman, and schoolteacher,

Benjamin Coffin served on their committee, with Abigail Hussey and Judith Wilcox. Elizabeth Mitchell sent a letter of permission for her son. Richard and Mary had eleven children, and were blessed with 49 years of happy married life. At the time they were married there was a committee under appointment to choose the site of the new Meetinghouse. Naturally Nathaniel Starbuck was chairman. His collaborators included Silvanus Hussey, who built both the old and the new Meetinghouses (and who had an Indian boy, who stole a silver spoon, imprisoned and whipped with ten lashes in 1729); Richard Macy, who was currently surveying all the town's highways; Jethro Folger, Batchelor Hussey and Jabez Bunker. It was at this time that a new Indian Meetinghouse was also built (replacing those extant in 1698?) - to which Nathaniel Starbuck was a large contributor, despite its Puritan character. Parenthetically in 1729 Jabez Bunker lost his non-Quaker widowed mother, Mary (Macy) Bunker, aged 81, followed in 1730 by a non-Quaker brother Peleg Bunker, aged 54.

In any case Nantucket initiated double the Quaker weddings in the 1728-1730 period as compared with that of 1726-1728. There were 95 Quaker children born into the families married in Meeting during these three years. For the first time service on Marriage committees was widely shared - in fact fifteen men and fifteen women were so active. Elihu Coleman, the pamphleteer, led the group, followed by Jethro Gardner, Benjamin Barney and Hannah Bunker. In fact this was Elihu's most active committee period. Benjamin Barney would carry on. Jethro Gardner finished his turn, as had Hannah Bunker.

The first funeral of consequence in the 1728-1730 period was that for Benjamin Barnard in 1729, aged 38, husband of Judith (Gardner) Barnard, perhaps lost at sea. His was a complicated estate requiring five years to settle. Benjamin had been a member

since his marriage in 1711, i.e. 18 years. There were eight children besides his widow. One brother, Ebeneezer, was also a member of Meeting. (one incidentally who got a servant branded with a letter "B" on the forehead earlier that year for stealing rum). Only Jethro Starbuck of Benjamin's marriage committee survived him. Stephen Coffin Jr. was already four years gone. Three brothers and three sisters survived. It appears that a non-Quaker sister, Abigail, owed a lot of money to Benjamin's estate - possibly a whaling loan. Benjamin had been a whaler - his boat was valued at £12.12s.0d., but this figure included a shore hut. Wharf shares ran to £60, while 5/12th of the sloop Ranger were estimated at £175. (Total value of boat must have run £400.) In 1730 it will be recalled, Nantucket boasted 25 whale ships which took 154 tons of oil and 9,200 lbs. of bone. Apparently Benjamin Barnard's estate was appraised at £2,610. 8s. 8¼d., of which extensive land holdings came to £1,066, and his dwelling £420. Judith got one third of the house with characteristic Nantucket regulations regarding access to the kitchen and cellar. Timothy, Francis and John; the elder sons, were given more on the expectation that the younger sons would profit at their mother's death. These were put under her guardianship, while Francis and John were apprenticed to Jabez Bunker. But Benjamin was not limited to his whaling and Nantucket properties. There was a shoemakers shop valued at £150, a mill share worth £85. A cooper's shop worth £20, a well at £18. Within the house there were listed as specially valuable; his beds, pewter and silverware (spoons worth £35. 7s. 8d.) and cash £18. There were also considerable Indian debts owed the estate. In any case the cost of administering the estate rose to £429. 5s. 2d. during the five year period. Benjamin Barnard was surely one of those who profited from the great prosperity flowing into the Island.

The next year, 1730, Provided (Gaskell) Allen, wife of Nathaniel, died, aged 26. She had come on to the Island from the North Shore

in 1725, and had thus been a member but five years. There were two minor children. They had been married in Meeting in 1724, six years before when Abigail Hussey and Judith Wilcox served as counsellors. Nathaniel would marry out-of-Meeting again in 1732, choosing a Coffin widow, born a Vineyard Skiffe. This alliance tended to keep Nathaniel from Friends, as was evidenced by Mercy Coffin being prosecuted by the town for keeping a "Tippling House"; in 1731. The year before Nathaniel had been fined for drunkeness - at the Tippling House? The other death in this year also involved a young wife (as earlier foreshadowed), Elizabeth (Barnard) Coleman, aged 19, similarly five years a member; daughter of Judith Wilcox, wife of Barnabas Coleman, granddaughter of Stephen Coffin the patriarch, sister of Kezia Gardner, Mary Coleman and "Queen" Anna Starbuck. She also left four unmarried brothers and an infant son. Neither matron left an estate to be probated. It will be recalled that Abigail Hussey and Deborah Russell had acted as marriage counsellors for Elizabeth in 1729. Her non-Quaker grandmother, Sarah (Gardner) Folger, daughter of the original Quakeress, had died in 1729. And Elizabeth Coleman's other grandfather, Stephen Coffin Sr., was still living. These, with the death of Elizabeth Cartwright, constitute four - in this period, small in comparison with the rapid expansion of the membership.

It is difficult to realize that despite the removal of many homes to Great Harbor from 1722 onwards that Friends continued to meet for worship and "discipline" at the original site near Capaum Pond for a decade. Probably a goodly proportion of members still resided on the moors.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

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CHAPTER 21.

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THE NINTH THREE YEARS, 1731 - 1733

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Early in 1731 Nathaniel Starbuck surrendered his post as Clerk of the Proprietary to his non-Quaker, brother-in-law, George Bunker. The Monthly Meeting Clerk was still Town Clerk, Clerk of the Select Meeting and Treasurer in charge of raising funds to build the great Meetinghouse at Main and Saratoga Streets nearer the Great Harbor, to which the town had moved a decade before. The building probably measuring one hundred and twenty feet long and fifty feet high, stood with its back to Main Street. The main doorways of the seventy feet deep structure opened from the south. The downstairs area seated 1,000 persons, upstairs as yet there was no gallery, though the height of the roof allowed for one. The house was divided by a shutter into two chambers: the smaller for men Friends (probably fifty-five feet wide - seventy deep) accomodated 425, while the larger room for women Friends, (probably with two doorways) must have been sixty-five feet wide - seventy deep, seating 590. Probably one-fifth of the capacity i.e. 210 seats were in the raised ministers' gallery along the north wall. There were probably two raised doors on that side and two each on the side walls (west - women, east - men). Side doors allowed for easy access or departure, while no less than 41 windows let in the sunlight on good days. No

wonder so much attention had to be given to their repair in years to come. In any case the new Meetinghouse was six times as large as the last. Unfortunately we have no figures as to the actual cost of the Meetinghouse built to seat a thousand. It was unpainted at least on the inside, heated probably by four fireplaces, two on each side: unlighted, as Meetings were held during the day. Originally there were no porches or entries. The great Meetinghouse was opened at General Meeting time in 1732, that is on the 30th anniversary of the convincement of Mary Starbuck under the preaching of John Richardson. What is more startling to discover is that Richardson came back for General Meeting that year to observe in his Journal that "we went to Nantucket where we met with many innocent plain Friends". Unlike many visitors under somewhat similar circumstances, Richardson makes no effort to claim credit for what had taken place during these three decades. It must, however, have been impressive to sit beside the man he first met on the Island when it was a hamlet village straggling down to Capaum Pond. The booming whaling metropolis on Great Harbor must have seemed to be an entirely different world. Richardson's modesty was probably reinforced in 1718 when he nearly died of pneumonia after narrowly escaping death in a flood. In any case few men can have witnessed a greater growth of an idea planted a generation earlier. Nantucket had built for the future. There were certainly 350 Quakers on the Island in 1732, most of them young or children. And when visiting Friends came it was not unheard of to double their numbers.

As for the old Meetinghouse; built in 1711, and enlarged in 1716, it became a school house, probably divided into four rooms, where Benjamin Coffin ran his school. Such an institution must have cut Timothy White to the quick, as Quaker opposition played the main role in preventing his opening a Puritan school in 1731

(a year earlier). In 1732 the schoolmaster, one Collins left suddenly to become a pirate. It would appear that on Nantucket school matters were driven to such a pass. Collins had succeeded Eleazer Folger Jr. in running the so-called "cent" school. There were probably 50 or so students in the Coffin school - which incidentally moved to the harbor location in 1736 - when the original structure burned. The latter location on the south-west side of Pleasant Street ran for twelve months - but the older children attended in winter, the younger in summer. Fees were payable quarterly running to the equivalent of 50 dollars, for the half year. Often specie was hard to come by and paper money depreciated, so that goods taken "in kind", led to Coffin establishing a second-hand shop. There he drew up and settled whaling shares, so that his counting house became Nantucket's first bank.

School hours ran from 8-11 a.m. and 1-4.30 p.m. Rough paper soft lead and quills with ink were supplied. How many thousands of Nantucket youth got basic educational training there, is hard to determine.

~~It is just possible that the original building was moved to Pleasant Street in 1732 - and burned there, to be replaced in 1736 by a much more substantial structure.~~

As soon as the great Meetinghouse was occupied, Nathaniel Starbuck resigned the post of Treasurer which had been his for four years. A year later he would retire from his clerkship of the Monthly Meeting after a quarter century service. It would be unfair to say that Nathaniel was ready for retirement. Rather he was now ready to devote more time to the tremendously expanding whaling industry.

The second Clerk of Nantucket Monthly Meeting was Joseph Marshall, one-time Boston merchant, widower of Abigail (Hussey) Howe-Marshall, son-in-law of the Nantucket Quaker who had met George Fox. Having

come forth in the ministry, he was regarded as a good Quaker arbitrator. Significantly he was not born an Islander. Meanwhile Jethro Starbuck took on the treasurer's post, being directed at the close of 1732 to transmit all he had in hand to Capt. Silvanus Hussey, the builder of the great Meetinghouse. At that time Paul Starbuck was asked to help settle the account, particularly in raising money from the more generous Women's Meeting. Early in 1733 the committee reported that they had been able to raise £11. 14s. 8d. from the Men's Meeting and £34. os. od. from the women, making a total of over £45, in one month (at that rate £500 per year). One other arrangement effected in 1733 was the decision to hold the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders in the great Meetinghouse. At least four times a year Nathaniel Starbuck sat at the clerk's table. Also in 1733, Dorcas Starbuck resigned her post as Clerk to the Women's Meeting, to be succeeded by Nathaniel's wife Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck; she would occupy the women's clerk's desk for a decade, having been the Friend to collaborate most closely with her sister-in-law during her quarter-century tenure.

The spring of 1731 was unusually quiet on Nantucket, except of course the Meeting took title to the Saratoga St. property, and a general round-up of all stray dogs was carried out. Apparently there had been an outbreak of rabies. That year five visitors turned up for the last General Meeting held out by the Elihu Coleman house. The most distinguished of this group was Henry Frankland from England whose Journal records:

> "...next got a passage for Nantucket Which is a Samll Island but a Larg Meety of Friends, we had two meetings with them which was Comfortable finding them in peace and love one with a nother."

Frankland's account is one of the few extant from this time, and is important for giving a clear indication both of growth and of harmony. Frankland's companion was Joshua Wiscom, of Dartmouth.

Also on hand was Rose Tibbetts of Dover (on her tenth visit) with Sarah Henny of that place. Ruth Jones of Philadelphia finishes off the list. She was noticed by the Women's Meeting. These visitors heard Nathaniel Starbuck give his usual report on New England Yearly Meeting and observed that Jethro Starbuck and Elihu Coleman were singled out to write the report for summer Quarterly Meeting. It was incidentally at this time that Providence M.M. changed its name to Smithfield M.M. A year later Rhode Island Friends would "set off" Swansea Monthly Meeting. New England Quakerism continued to grow - and to suffer. For Rose Tibbett could report that in 1731 within the confines of her own Salem Quarterly Meeting local franchizes still collected "priests rates". In fact no less that £118. 10s. 0d. was so distrained from Quakers in northern New England that year. It was about this time that Capt. Thomas Hathaway's sloop went down with all hands, including Benjamin Starbuck, 24 year old son of the Clerk. Thomas' nephew by marriage. The latter left his widow Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, daughter of Experience and one son (another on the way). He was survived by his parents, two brothers and seven sisters.

Late in 1731 the 56th wedding handled by Nantucket Monthly Meeting took place - and so noted as it was the final certificate recorded in the book bought in 1722. A decade later a much larger book was purchased (to continue till 1756) to hold 246 entries. The marriage so recorded involved a newcomer, John Beard of Exeter, in England, to Deborah Pease, of the Vineyard. The Pease family antedated the Mayhews and were generally staunch Puritans. But Deborah's grandmother was a half-sister of the Macy brothers. Through her mother she was related to the Chases and Tiltons, the chief landowners of Tisbury (Vineyard Haven). Her parents came over for the wedding. On her committee was to be found Abigail Hussey and Mary Folger. The men selected Jethro Folger and Benjamin Barney. Theirs was not the last marriage to be held in

the old Meetinghouse. In fact six others followed, and then the transfer was made. John and Deborah lived together 61 years and were parents to eleven children.

The first wedding recorded in Book II of Marriage Certificates was for Zaccheus Coffin, (son of the late Joseph Coffin, grandson of magistrate James and of Bethiah (Macy) Coffin-Renouf, who had decided about 1730 to throw in her lot with the Macy brothers and sisters). Zaccheus chose Mary Pinkham, eldest child of Shubael Pinkham, and Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham. As the Coffin-Pinkham couple appeared at the same Monthly Meeting with the Beard-Pease duo, they shared the same committees on clearness, but their wedding occurred two days after that involving the Vineyard. Zaccheus had an older brother married out-of-Meeting, and similarly an older sister. (Her husband, Andrew Newell, attended the wedding, as did Zaccheus' mother and step-father.) Zaccheus and Mary lived together 57 years, raising eight children.

At the time Shubael Coffin was disowned, three couples appeared at Monthly Meeting. Jethro Coleman, son of John and Priscilla, took Lydia Paddack, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann: Robert Macy, son of the town treasurer, (whose wedding preceded that for Jethro Coleman) appeared with Abigail Barnard, daughter of widow Judith (Gardner) Barnard! and Samuel Bunker, eldest son of Jabez and Hannah, chose Priscilla Coleman, seventh favored child of minister Priscilla who was in turn the seventh favored child of the Great Mary Starbuck. Here were three weddings involving six solid members. The Meetings chose committees to deal with all three unions: viz. Jethro Folger and Benjamin Barney, Abigail Hussey and (her first service) Bethiah Renouff. The Bunker wedding followed a day after that for Robert Macy. John and Ruth had eleven children and sixty years together.

******* Insert from next page ********** to **********

The next to last wedding in the old Meetinghouse was held for John Russell (son of Daniel and Deborah (Macy) Russell) and Ruth

Starbuck (daughter of the retiring Clerk). Daniel Russell hailed from Newport, but seemed indifferent to Quakerism, while his wife joined in with her sister, Bethiah Renouff, about 1730. To the service of this marriage were appointed John Macy, Jethro Gardner, Abigail Hussey and Judith Wilcox. This wedding was requested at the time Batchelor Hussey reported he had informed Shubael Coffin of his disownment. Then came the Macy, Coleman and Bunker weddings in quick succession. John and Ruth had eleven children and 41 years together.

********** (insert in page 314) Jethro and Lydia had sixteen years together. Then she died and he naturally remarried. There were five motherless children. Samuel and Priscilla managed 55 years together and eleven children. He was destined to be disown in the Great Commons Case far ahead. Robert and Abigail managed a dozen children. Their marriage portion was 40 year as husband and wife. **********

Next followed the final marriage eolemnized in the old Meeting-house. This was for Timothy Barnard, son of widow Judith (Gardner) Barnard, and Mary Bunker, daughter of widow Susannah Bunker (granddaughter of the old Quaker landowner Stephen Coffin). Mary's father, recently deceased, had been a non-Quaker brother of Jabez Bunker. The committees composed of Elihu Coleman, Benjamin Barney, Deborah Russell and Judith Wilcox, soon discovered what appeared to be a scandal. But it all came out that Timothy was guilty of only "som onadvised rash words", and so they passed Meeting without trouble. Timothy was lost at sea in 17 years, and Mary died (possibly of a broken heart) the next year. They left six orphans. About this time the Overseers reported that everything was in order - (as they had a year before, early in 1731). Notwithstanding Nathaniel Allen was about to marry Mercy Coffin out-of-Meeting.

At the time John Beard and Zaccheus Coffin appeared with their

future wives, that is in the sutumn of 1731. Jethro Starbuck and Batchelor Hussey were asked to write the quarterly report. In the spring of 1732 John Coleman and his son Elihu did the same - but were joined by Dinah Starbuck, (as was sometimes the case). Inexplicably Monthly Meeting in May was cancelled, there being "Very few Friends at Meeting". Were they at the harborside watching the whaling fleet off, or at the great Meetinghouse, working hard to get it ready for General Meeting in a months time. In any case only the women gathered that last time on the moors, and they did nothing but collect some money after their Meeting for Worship.

In June 1732 came the transfer. It was Jethro Starbuck's turn to report on Yearly Meeting, and to be asked to write the summer report with Elihu Coleman. In the light of the transfer to the new location, Dinah added some unaccustomed lines. For the first time they reported reading epistles sent down by both the yearly and quarterly meeting. And the information that Barnabas Starbuck was finishing his earthly course, having been a member in Newport for a decade, was received. He had set up the Starbuck subsidiary in Newport, which was to launch whaling craft from 1733 onwards from its Rhode Island base. No less a worthy than Gov. Walter Clark had sold Nathaniel Starbuck the land on which the Starbuck warehouse was built. Visitors included the famous John Richardson, his companion Paul Jones, an Irishman, Hugh Clifton of Salem N.J., making his first visit, and Richard Wall from Philadelphia.

Once the celebration was over, the Meeting again seemed to sink into the doldrums, though in the autumn Mehitabel (Gardner) Pollard, a new appointee, wrote an autumn report (an innovation) for the women. Jethro Starbuck and Jethro Gardner did the same for the men. But in November only three or four men Friends

arrived at the great Meetinghouse, so that again Monthly Meeting was omitted. There may have been an epidemic of a contageous disease, small pox, scarlet fever or other. The women as usual collected money. No weddings took place that winter, though a steady stream of visitors appeared in the spring of 1733, eager at least to see the largest Quaker Meetinhouse beyond Newport.

First there was Hannah Dent, a Yorshirewoman, who came on with two brothers, Job Chase and Isaac Chase, probably kin of Isaac Chase of Swansea. Eliphalet Harper of Falmouth Meeting apparently brought them over on his first visit. The second group came for the General Meeting in 1733, which coincided with the silver anniversary of the Monthly Meeting. Two Irish Friends, Mungo Bewley and Samuel Stephens respectively of Edenderry and Lambstown Monthly Meetings were the chief attraction. Bowden describes the former as a "man of superior qualifications, of a nonle mind and a discerning spirit". Probably they brought greetings from Patrick Henderson. In any case there was a letter read from Benjamin Holme, who was no doubt content that the Yearly Meeting had approved the publication of Elihu Coleman's pamphlet against slavery. Three Rhode Island Friends: David Irish, David Irish Jr., and David Richards had come on, and as well Rose Tibbetts accompanied by Patience Redwood. David Irish had been on the Island 18 years before in 1715. Ann Stanyon was back (last on the Island in 1729) with a Sarah Varney. The women were listed as in attendance noting, "in ye General a Good Meeting". Nathaniel Starbuck reported on Yearly Meeting as he surrendered his Celrk's desk at Monthly Meeting. Batchelor Hussey was asked to attend Quarterly Meeting, while Jethro Starbuck and Nathaniel Coleman were to provide the summer report.

The retirement of the first clerk gave a new importance to the elders. It was thus agreed that Jethro Starbuck and significantly John Macy be regarded as the chief elders. Jethro

was described as clerk to the "visitors" as well. Then the marriage bans were posted agin in number. The first was for Barnabas Coleman, another of Priscilla's brood who asked permission to marry Rachel Hussey, daughter of Capt. Silvanus, by his first wife. Barnabas was himself a wodower having married Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Judith Wilcox five years before. It will be recalled she had died in childbirth in 1729. Minister William Starbuck, Benjamin Barney, Experience Coffin and Sarah Macy were asked to act. No one of these had been appointed in 1728. Barnabas and Rachel lived a full married life of 58 years together rearing no less than eleven children. A month later, David Gardner, second son of Soloman Gardner and Anna (Coffin) Gardner (great-great grandson of Sarah Shattuck) and grandson of Stephen Coffin, the landowner, came among Friends, by seeking marriage with Mary Gardner eldest daughter of Samuel Gardner and Patience (Swain) Gardner, obviously a cousin. Both were destined to become ministers and consequently members of great importance in the middle years of the century. It is curious that David's father stayed out of Meeting as the whole family eventually found their way into membership. Richard Worth,(a new name), Elihu Coleman, Mary Jenkins and Deborah Russell were named to enquire. This occurred as John Macy and Jethro Folger were asked to write the autumn report. David and Mary had eleven children and 64 years together. In due season he would become a vortex in the affairs of the Great Commons Case. Parenthetically it may be observed that Richard Worth lost his non-Quaker father John Worth in 1731, when aged 66. Grandfather William Worth also non-Quaker had passed away in 1724, when aged 84.

Before either Barnabas Coleman or David Gardner were wed, two more applications were presented simultaneously. These were for David Joy, a young widower of Dartmouth Meeting, who asked for

the hand of Sarah Gardner, sister of David: and John Folger, son of Jethro and Mary, who chose Rebecca Baker of Yarmouth Meeting, daughter of John Baker and Hannah Baker. Men Friends appointed Richard Worth and Benjamin Barney for both couples. Women Friends similarly favored Hannah Bunker and Ann Paddack. The Folger-Baker nuptials came first with the Cape Cod in-laws present, also a William Swan and Ruth Lovell (of Paddack ancestry). The Joy - Gardner wedding produced an Edward Hammett, who probably came on from Dartmouth as the equivalent of a "best man". Apparently John and Rebecca went to live on the Bass River, where she died thirteen years later (1746) and he returned to Nantucket, from which he later perished at sea. David and Sarah lived together 44 years. They had five children.

And before either of these could be held, two more proposals were made simultaneously . The first of these was for "a cord-wainer" Joseph Rotch, a resident of Nantucket for some eight years who sought marriage with Love Macy, daughter of Thomas, the select-man. The second was for Peter Barnard, son of Judith Wilcox, whose intentions went out to Anna Starbuck youngest daughter of the ex-Clerk. Both weddings were important for the future of Nantucket. Jethro Folger and minister Nathaniel Coleman acted for men Friends while Hannah Bunker and Ann Paddack did so for the women. The Barnard wedding preceded the Rotch marriage a good bit, as whaling responsibilities intervened. Joseph Rotch was born in Salisbury in England, but emigrated to America (Salem, Mass.) with his widowed mother, Hannah (Patten) Rotch. On Nantucket he was apprenticed to Paul Starbuck. According to one account he

> was a man of great activity and shrewdness in business, his manner was quick and vivacious. He was determined and at the sme time had a pleasing address. Consequently he had his way in everything. He was full of unostentacious

benevolence, and preferred the recipient of his bounty should remain in ignorance of the hand that gave. He delighted in a joke, and was singularly ready in repartee. More than this Joseph Rotch was chiefly responsible for developing the Nantucket West Indies sugar, brandy wine trade. Though an active Quaker, he never used the plain thee and thou speech. His three sons were destined to tower in Nantucket and even British imperial affairs in the next generation. Joseph and Love lived 33 years together, but had only three children, all sons. Peter and Anna had ten children whom they raised during their 41 years of marriage.

Once again before the Barnard or Rotch marriages occured, more requests were made - three in fact. First there was Samuel Stanton, son of John and Elizabeth of Westerly (Greenwich M.M.) who appeared with Sarah Coffin, daughter of Bethiah Renouff, sister to Zaccheus. Finally William Swan of Dartmouth (who had been at the Folger-Baker wedding) and Abigail Coleman, daughter of Soloman and the late Mary (Macy) Coleman, put in an appearance. Men Friends relied on Richard Worth and minister Elihu Coleman. The women turned to Hannah Bunker and Ann Paddack (who seemed to be regular appointees by this time). Whatever happened, no marriage ever took place involving William Swan on Nantucket. His was the second wedding proposed but not followed out. (The first involved Nathaniel Gardner Jr. and Jemima Coffin in 1723. In fact William Swan never married. His will was probated in 1748 in which an unnamed friend received his property, and was also executor of his estate. It may be presumed that if he settled on Nantucker and continued to attend Meeting he did not do so as a member Ruth Lovell eventually married Josiah Clark, a Puritan, out of Meeting in 1734. To return to the marriages in Meeting. John Hussey'S wedding came first with a William Hay present (perhaps a whaling associate). The Samuel Stanton wedding apparently took place at Monthly Meeting itself (at the moment the Rotch - Macy marriage was cleared). The Stanton-Coffin wedding foreshadowed an eventual migration

to North Carolina, as in 1733 cousins of Samuel established themselves at Core Sound in that State, the first of a large New England migration into that area. Samuel and Sarah lived together only seven years when he was lost at sea. Sarah remarried taking her three minor children into her new home. John Hussey was similarly lost at sea after 15 years with Jedidah. He left her with eight chidren. She too remarried.

Eight men and nine women had served on marriage committees during the three years in question. Benjamin Barney was by far the most active, working on nine committees. Jethro Folger was called on seven times while Abigail Hussey, Hannah Bunker and Ann Paddack appeared six times. At least three of the appointees were new to the task. There were eventually 115 Quaker children born to the families married in Meeting during the 1731-1733 period.

Parenthetically it should be observed that Capt. Soloman Coleman's father-in-law, Moses Swett, Quaker in Hampton Meeting, previous resident on Nantucket died in 1731, aged 70, leaving three daughters on the Island. And at least fourteen grandchildren on the Island. Mary (Hussey) Swett his wife, had died in 1720 when aged 55.

As this spate of marriages got under way - and there was a total of eight - six women Friends visited. One was the Jane Fenn who had been on the Island in 1725. With her was Martha Pettel of Boston, and Rebecca Minshall of Providence Meeting, Pennsylvania (Chester M.M.) Still earlier Elizabeth Harper of Falmouth brought Alice Alderson (of Yorkshire) and Margaret Copeland, (of Westmoreland) to the Island. Bowden says of the first of these English Friends, that "though far from possessing much human learning was copious in expressions well adapted to her subject." - a comment which throws some quizzical reflection in its path.

It remains here to take account of deaths in the Meeting, as there were ~~no~~ few departures to other Quaker groups. Already

attention was drawn to Benjamin Starbuck's death in 1731, a member for a decade. His estate seems to have been handled out of court. In 1732 Benjamin Jenkins, aged 16 was lost whaling, - "died abroad"; at the age to be considered as a member of the Men's Meeting. He was survived by his parents, Matthew and Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, and three older brothers, and his non-Quaker grandmother (daughter of the founder of Nantucket, who died in 1732.). John Folger, aged 64, died, last son of the original family of Peter Folger, leaving three sons Jethro, Jonathan and Shubael, and two daughters Bethiah Barker and Abigail (Folger) Folger in the Meeting. There were also (in addition to his widow, Mary (Barnard) Folger) three sons Nathaniel, Richard and Zaccheus, and a daughter Hannah. There were at least 35 grandchildren and one great-grandchild - making a total of 45 or so. John Folger was also survived by three sisters: Dorcas Pratt of Charlestown, Experience Swain of Nantucket, and Abiah Folger of Boston (mother of Benjamin Franklin). John's non-Quaker widow Mary (Barnard) Folger died four years later in 1736, aged 69.

In 1733 Libni Coffin, 19 year old son of miller Samuel Coffin and Miriam Coffin, was lost whaling, leaving three sisters and two brothers in the Meeting. So it would appear that only four losses were sustained - though the Meeting record gives in impression of uneasiness and some faltering even in the midst of tremendous growth. Whaling had reached Nova Scotia by 1733; also Newport outfitted whalers in that year. Already Nantucket possessed whaleships reaching 118 tons. About this time Capt. Daniel Bunker, aged 36 moved his family to Hudson N.Y. to start whaling there, though no record of this occurs in Monthly Meeting records. His wife Priscilla (Swain) Bunker, aged 31, was a daughter of John Swain Jr. They left with four minor children to become a part of Nine Partagers M.M.

There continued to be a series of lawsuits by which Friends

brought non-Friends to heel - particularly Indians. In 1732 minister Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, (whose husband kept slaves!) got an Indian girl indentured for a year for stealing. George Hussey, Hephzibah's brother-in-law, punished an Indian lad similarly, but for a term of four years. One of Samuel ~~Barnard's~~ Barker's indentured Indians got one and a half years additional term for stealing rum, by breaking into a warehouse in which property of Andrew Gardner, the Quaker blacksmith, was kept. And Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner saw another Indian whipped with 15 stripes for stealing his leather "britches" - but Ebeneezer had become a nominal Friend. In 1733, however, Daniel Folger, more active in Meeting indeed, got a sentence of 20 stripes on an Indian for stealing various objects from his whale-shop. In that year the Quaker brothers Barnabas Gardner and Jonathan Gardner procured judgement from a Robert Paddack for not meeting the costs of his apprenticeship. Apparently Robert was a Cape Codder, but probably not a member of Yarmouth Meeting. This was the underside of a community in which love and unity was maintained between and among Quakers as such, at least for the most part. Incidentally Joseph Paddack, of Yarmouth Meeting, husband of Sarah (Gardner) Paddack of Nantucket, whom he married in 1696 (it will be recalled) died in 1732, aged 62, leaving his widow and two sons, one daughter and five grandchildren that is eight descendants on the Island. Joseph and Sarah had been married 39 years four years longer than Thomas and Hephzibah Hathaway of Dartmouth, who it will be recalled brought Quakerism to the Island.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

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CHAPTER 22

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TYPICAL QUAKER FAMILIES XI AND XII

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THE ELEAZER FOLGERS
1733

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Eleazer Folger, 1648-1716, was the first school teacher on Nantucket, and first representative of the Island in the Massachusetts Legislature after 1691, when the Island was transferred from the jurisdiction of New York. He inherited a good classical education from both his father, Peter Folger, 1618-1690, and his mother, Mary (Merrill) Folger, 1620-1704. The elder Folgers left Norwich, England, where he was a leading Liberal Puritan, to make their home in America - in 1657 to take the pulpit as teacher in the Puritan Church of Governor Mayhew on Martha's Vineyard. There he met Thomas Macy, Mayhew's cousin, and chief architect of the Nantucket settlement and served as translator for the Nantucket Indians, as the Proprietary was founded. Differences of opinion - Folger was more liberal than Mayhew - led to the latter resigning his pastorate to become an Anabaptist and to be invited to Nantucket to set up a blacksmith's shop and to preach twice a week without pay. This last step occurred in 1665, when Eleazer was 17 years old. (He had been nine when the family went to Edgartown (as it was later called). Eleazer was the elder of two sons. And he had seven sisters. These were as follows: Joanna (Folger) Coleman, 1645-1690, (wife of John Sr.); Bethiah (Folger) Barnard, 1646-1669, (wife of John - both drowned early on); Dorcas (Folger) Pratt, 1647-1742, (wife of Phineas of Boston);

Bathsheba (Folger) Pope, 1650-1700 (wife of John - also of Boston); Patience (Folger) Harker, 1645-1710 (wife of Ebeneezer); Experience (Folger) Swain, 1664-1739 (wife of John Jr.); and Abiah (Folger) Franklin, 1667-1752, (wife of Josiah of Boston - mother of Benjamin ~~Franklin~~ Franklin). Thus one sister died young, and three lived in Boston - leaving three on the Island. Only Abiah was born on Nantucket, Experience and the brother John were Vineyard-born.

Peter Folger was close to Quakerism. His chief disciple was Mary Starbuck, who did take the logical step. But only John, of Peter's children followed suite. His account follows in the latter part of this chapter. Eleazer was too much of an intellectual to follow his brother. And as a practical man, he found it easier to deal with Boston without denominational labels. In 1671 when he was 23 years of age, he married Sarah (Gardner) Folger, 1652-1729, namesake of the first New England Quakeress - but no Quaker herself. As young newly-weds they rode out the "bloodless revolution", belonging if anywhere to the Gardner egalitarian party. They had their five children during this time - and Eleazer became the town schoolmaster; probably in 1675.

The five Folger children belonged to the same generation as Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. First there was Eleazer Folger Jr., 1672-1753, who married his first cousin, Bethiah (Gardner) Folger, 1676-1716, (daughter of Joseph). They had three children and then Bethiah died. Eleazer (who like his father, ran a school) then married Mary (Marshall) Folger, 1695-1765, daughter of the Joseph, who later became a leading Friend. Neither of Eleazer's wives were Quakers (though Bethiah's mother was a member). There were six children in the second family. Four became Friends, so that the Eleazer Jr. branch of the Folgers was not so typical of most Island families dating from the beginning.

~~The five Folger children belonged to the same generation as Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. First there was Eleazer Folger Jr., 167~~

~~1755, who married his first cousin, Bethiah (Gardner) Folger, 1676-1716 (daughter of Joseph). They had tr~~

In glancing at the eleven children, the following situation appears. The eldest Gideon Folger, 1709-1750, never married. The second, Orion Folger, 1711-1764, married late in life in 1751, after his brothers death - choosing a widow Jedidah (Stewart) Pitts-Folger, from off-Island. The third, the Quaker in this household Eliphaz Folger, 1713-1794, married Priscilla (Gorham) Folger, 1715-1801, in 1735, in Meeting. She was a daughter of Thomas of Yarmouth Meeting on Cape Cod, though her maternal grandmother had been Anna Trott, one of the petitioners for Nantucket Meeting. They had six children.

The fourth child started the second household. He was Charles Folger, 1718-1784, who never married. Then came Deborah (Folger) Frost, 1719-1758, who wed Benjamin Frost, 1706-1793, in 1746, son of John the third schoolmaster (Eleazer Jr. was the fourth) but turned pirate, while his mother Tabotha (Trott) Frost-Brown, was disowned - first one so from Nantucket Meeting - for bigamy. The next was Bethiah (Folger) Pinkham, 1722-1810, who wed James Pinkham but only later in life, in 1755 as a second wife. They were apparently childless. James was a son of Richard the original of that name. Frederick Folger, 1724 - 1790, the seventh of Eleazer Jr's children married Mary (Trott) Folger, in 1751, she being a daughter of Benjamin and granddaughter of Anna the Quaker. Thus three of Eliphaz children married into the not too stable Trott house. Next to the last was Margaret (Folger) Swain, 1729-1822, who wed Jonathan Swain, grandson of Joseph, in 1753, as his second wife (in Meeting). They had a large Quaker family. Then came Peleg Folger, 1733-1789, the original log-keeper, latin scholar, poet and school teacher, who like two of his brothers never married. And finally there was Mary (Folger) Black, 1734-1815, a rather wilful young woman whose husband, William Black, 1735-1776,

joined Meeting for their marriage in 1761. (His father had come on to the Island.) They had five Quaker children Thus there were twenty Quaker great-grandchildren in Eleazer Folger's descent.

The second of Eleazer Sr's children was Peter Folger, 1674-1707, who wed Judith (Coffin) Folger, later Barnard still later Wilcox, 1678-1760 was a daughter of Quaker Stephen Coffin Sr. They had four children all of whom embraced their mother's faith. The first of these was Keziah (Folger) Gardner-Starbuck, who married Jethro Gardner, 1693-1743, grandson of Mary Starbuck, first in 1716 and then another grandson, Paul Starbuck, 1694-1759, second in 1737. Both weddings were under the care of the Meeting. She had seven children by her first narriage - none by the second. Second there was Daniel Folger, 1701-1744, who married Abigail (Folger) Folger later Pinkham, 1703-1787, daughter of John, Daniel's cousin in 1721. They had six children, In 1748 Abigail married Daniel Pinkham, 1697-1770, as his second wife. They were childless. The third Anna (Folger) Starbuck, 1703-1748, married minister William Starbuck, 1699-1760, in 1720 and had five children. She was called "Queen of theQuakers" by non-Friends as they stood at the center of the Meeting-establishment. The fourth was Mary (Folger) Gardner later Coleman, 1705-1763, wife of Nathaniel Gardner Jr., 1697-1727, whom she married in 1725 and then in 1729, minister Nathaniel Coleman, 1697-1783. She had two children by her first marriage and three by her second. Thus Eleazer Sr. had twenty-three Quaker great-grandchildren in the Peter branch - in fact all that there were. Here the potential Quakerism of Peter Folger was realized.

The third of Eleazer Sr's children was Sarah (Folger) Odar, 1676-1733, who wed Anthony Odar, son of Nicholas. She became a Friend. The fourth was Mary (Folger) Arthur, 1684-1720, who

married John Arthur Jr. a strong Puritan. The fifth and final child was Nathan Folger, 1678-1747, who married Sarah (Church) Folger, 1676-1745, daughter of John of Plymouth. They had six children of which some account must be taken, especially as the governmental traditions of the Folger family went to this branch. First there was Abishai Folger, 1700-1778, who first married Sarah (Mayhew) Folger, 1708-1734, in 1727, daughter of Paine, and great-great granddaughter of the original governor. Paine Mayhew was representative to the Massachusetts legislature from Martha's Vineyard, and his son-in-law the same from Nantucket. After Sarah's death Abishai married Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck-Folger, 1713-1793, in 1735, daughter of Stephen Jr., and widow of Benjamin Starbuck. At least three sons by his first marriage joined Frineds, while his second wife bore him seven other children.

The second child of Nathan was Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddack, 1701- , childless by both her marriages. In 1724 she married Richard Gardner Third, 1689-1724, out-of-Meeting, and then in 1727 she married Seth Paddack, 1699- , in Yarmouth Meeting. Some seven or so years later they moved to Nantucket. There she became one of the most influential elders in the Meeting. Timothy Folger, 1706-1750, the third son, did not come into Meeting, but married Anna (Chase) Folger, 1710- , in 1733, she being a daughter of James of the Vineyard. At least one of their children, however, married into the Meeting. The fourth Peter Folger, 1708-1762, also elected to remain outside Meeting. He married Christian (Swain) Folger, 1722-1790 in 1731, she being a daughter of John (in turn a grandson of the original John). She was a member of Meeting in her later years. Next to the youngest was Barzillai Folger, 1710-1790, who married Phebe (Coleman) Folger, 1711-1791, in Meeting in 1730., she being a daughter of John and Priscilla. They had ten children. And finally there was Judith (Folger)Jenkins, 1712-1765, who married Thomas Jenkins, 1707-1756, son of Matthew,

out-of-Meeting in 1728. At least one of their children elected to come under the Quaker discipline. So we find fifteen Quaker great-grandchildren in the Nathan branch, that is for Eleazer Folger Sr. This accounts for 58 great-grandchildren in all in this family. There were probably as many outside Meeting as well.

There were 26 weddings involved of which fourteen were Quaker. Only five were with off-Islanders, though in the earlier generation as was pointed out three girls married off. Five men and thirteen women oversaw the Quaker weddings in this family: Jethro Folger and Experience Coffin each served three times - the others less. Jethro was obviously a Folger, a cousin of this branch. The only member of the family to act as an overseer was "Queen" Anna Starbuck - once.

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## The John Folgers

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## 1733

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The junior branch of the Folger family stemmed from Eleazer Sr's younger brother John Folger, 1659-1732, a man who followed his father's blacksmithing and religious impulses. He was in fact in charge of Nathaniel Starbuck's apprenticeship, transmitting in both cases the skills which he inherited. John married Mary (Barnard) Folger, 1667-1736, daughter of Nathaniel Sr. They had nine children, five of whom followed their father's religious outlook. The eldest, Jethro Folger, 1689-1772, long sat head of Meeting. He had married Mary(Starbuck) Folger, 1692-1763, in 1711, eldest daughter of the first Clerk. Both were gifted elders. They in

turn had nine Quaker children. These were as follows: Jedidah (Folger) Gardner, 1711-1757, wife of Robert Gardner, 1705-1797, only Quaker son of Benjamin (who was a non-Quaker grandson of Sarah Shattuck). They married in Meeting in 1730 and had 13 children. The second John Folger, 1714-1750, married Rebecca (Baker) Folger, 1715-1746, in 1733, from the Cape. They first lived in Yarmouth, then moved to Nantucket. One, at least, of their children was a member on Nantucket. The third Anna (Folger) Mitchell, 1720- married James Mitchell, 1713- of Newport, in 1738, brother of Richard. They emigrated to his home. The fourth Lydia (Folger) Coffin 1722-1807, married Hezekiah Coffin, 1712-1779, son of Joseph, grandson of Magistrate James in 1742. They had 10 children. The fifth Eunice (Folger) Coleman, 1724-1782, married George Coleman, 1730-1800, son of Capt. Coloman in 1750. They had 8 children. The sixth, Tristram Folger, 1727-1786, wed Mary(Coffin) Folger, 1730-1776, daughter of Prince in 1750. They had nine children. The seventh, Hephzibah (Folger) Swain, 1729-1750, wed Jonathan Swain, 1728-1803, grandson of Joseph, in 1747. They had ~~five children. And then there was Nathaniel Folger, 1734-1756, lost in that grim year of war. There were at least~~ but one child before her early death. The eighth was Jethro Folger Jr., 1731-1796, who married Mary (Barnard) Folger, 1736-1767, in 1753. They had five children And then there was Nathaniel Folger, 1734-1756, lost in that grim year of war. There were at least 47 Quaker great-grandchildren on Nantucket in the Jethro branch, though but 28 came from the sons. There were altogether possibly 60 Quaker grandchildren of Jethro and Mary - a very solid portion of the heart of Nantucket Quakerism - a combination of Folger brain and Starbuck concern. Did Benjamin Franklin realize that a first cousin of his sat Head of Nantucket Meeting?

The second of John's children Bethiah (Folger) Barker, 1692-1774 married a widower, then resident in Newport, but of Plymouth origin,

Samuel Barker, 1667-1739, in 1718 by whom she had four children. The next child Nathaniel Folger, 1694-1752, did not become a Quaker but wed Priscilla (Chase) Folger, 1697-1753, from the Vineyard, in 1718. At least one of their children became a Friend. The fourth Jonathan Folger, 1696-1777, an irascible blacksmith, married a daughter of minister Nathaniel Gardner, Margaret (Gardner) Folger, 1695-1727, in 1717. They had four children, and then he married Deborah (Paddack) Bunker-Folger, 1689-1750, daughter of Zacchary of the Cape, widow of Benjamin, in 1728. They had no children, but she brought them into more active Quaker affairs. After her death Jonathan remarried a second time in 1752 Susannah (Gorham) Paddack-Folger, 1705-1777, daughter of Stephen from the Cape, and widow of Daniel. To follow up Jonathan's four children, we find: Dinah (Folger) Chase, 1720-1786, who married Stephen Chase, 1708-1787, of the Vineyard in 1742, where they went to live; Reuben Folger, 1722-1808, who married Dinah (Hussey) Folger, 1727-1763, son of George in 1743. They had ten children: Abigail (Folger) Coffin, whose husband was David Coffin, 1718-1804, son of Samuel. They married in 1741 and had eight children. Finally there was Jonathan Folger Jr., 1727-1812, who married Lydia (Barnard) Folger, 1730-1800, in 1750 and had eight children There were 26 great-grandchildren in the Jonathan branch on Nantucket, 18 in the male line and possibly 35 in all.

John's next child was Richard Folger, 1698-1782, non-Quaker, who like many of the family married a Vineyarder, Sarah (Pease) Folger, 1700-1783 in 1722. Apparently none of their children were inclined toward Quakerism. The sixth, Shubael Folger, 1700-1786, was a Friehd, marrying Jerusha (Clark) Folger, 1702-1778, in 1720: she being a daughterof Thomas from Plymouth. They had seven children who must be followed out. First there was Phebe (Folger) Marshall, 1724-1802, wed to Joseph Marshall Jr., 1722-1802, Monthly Meeting Clerk. They were wed in 1740 and achieved the record of 18 children! Second came Seth Folger, 1726-1807, who married Phebe (Coleman) Folger,

1726-1797, in 1745, and had eight children. There was Mary (Folger) Worth, 1728-1815, who married Benjamin Worth, 1723-1750, in 1745. They had two children - and then she married Peleg Coleman, 1725-1808, son of Capt. Soloman in 1751, and had two more offspring. The fourth was Benjamin Folger, 1731-1819, who wed Judith (Barnard) Folger, 1735-1828, daughter of Timothy in 1754. They had seven children. The fifth was Jemima (Folger) Gardner, 1734-1789, who married Soloman Gardner, 1731-1792, son of Andrew in 1753. They apparently had no children. The sixth, Shubael Folger Jr., 1737-1774, who married Lydia (Bunker) Folger, , 1737-1798, daughter of George in 1757. They had at least seven children. And the seventh was Abigail (Folger) Gardner, 1739-1812, who married Benjamin Gardner, 1732-1777, son of James in 1757. They too had at least seven children. Thus the Shubael branch produced at least 55, probably 60 great-grandchildren in the Meeting in the John descent, but at least 22 of these only may be traced in the male line.

John's seventh child, Abigail (Folger) Folger-Pinkham, 1703-1787, had six children by her first cousin hushand, Daniel Folger, 1701-1744, whom she married in Meeting in 1721; none by her second husband, Daniel Pinkham, 1697-1770, whom she married in 1748. They had 22 years together. The eighth Zaccheus Folger, 1706-1779, who wed Abigail (Coffin) Folger, 1708-1770, son of Puritan John in 1728, had nine non-Quaker children. Finally there was John's last daughter, Hannah Folger, 1708-1765, who remained a non-Quaker spinster.

There were 31 marriages in this family of which only four were not Quaker. Six were off-Island matches (three others may be claimed from the generation before). 21 men Friends and 15 women Friends oversaw the 27 Quaker weddings in this family. Judith Barnard was most active serving five times. Benjamin Barney was runner up with four periods of service. Only three were Folgers and two of those from the Eleazer family - namely Kezia Starbuck and Leah Paddack.

Jonathan Folger belonged to the "John family". He served twice, she twice thrice. There were 78 male descended great grandchildren in this line as contrasted to 33 in the senior house.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

APPENDIX A

SKETCH OF LIFE OF MARY STARBUCK

The "Great Mary" was born in that section of Newbury now known as Haverhill, Mass., in 1645. The fifth of the seven children of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, who had emigrated to America. They were liberal Puritan gentry who had enough substance to build an inn. However, after Dionis' death, the increasing hostility to the Boston theocracy to any liberal ideas, led Coffin to sell his inn and to become the principal investor (full shares man) in the proposed Nantucket plantation. Mary was aged 14 when, in 1659, the first Meeting of the proprietors was held in the inn.

Two years later, aged 16, the importance of that Meeting was brought home to her, when as housekeeper for her father, and three of her brothers, she helped put up a primitive shelter at Madaket Harbor. She realized that above all the hanging of three Quakers on Boston Common was the event which decided the emigration away from the authority of Gov. Endicott to that of Gov. Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard. And one of the colony of a score or so adults was John Swain, who himself was a declared Quaker. All the settlers, she realized, were opposed

Coatue). A room was added to become the store, Indian bureau

to clerical rule, the chief instigator, John Macy, was a lay preacher of electarian Baptist views. To help him Edward Starbuck, similarly opinioned, had come out. His coming was of great interest to Mary, as his 25 year old son, Nathaniel, soon caught her eye. On occasion Peter Folger the lay "teacher" in Mayhew's church came to preach to them. He soon adopted the Baptist views current on Nantucket. Four years after the colonization, he would throw in his lot with the churchless community and come to be the third important influence after her father and her husband.

Left behind on the North Shore were the two older brothers and an older sister, all married. These were: Peter Coffin, aged 29, already embarked on a successful legal career; Tristram Coffin Jr., aged 26, who may well have continued with the inn; and Elizabeth Greenleaf, aged 23, destined to become an ancestor of John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet. The three brothers who emigrated with their father were: James, aged 21; John, aged 14; and Stephen, aged 10. Mary's father was then aged 57 - in those days nearly elderly. Apparently Mary did not travel a great deal. She didn't see much of the family left behind, except for Peter Coffin who came to live on Nantucket for seven years because of the dangers brought about by King Philip's Indian War. He was of particular interest anyway, as he had married Abigail Starbuck, the 16 year old sister of the Nathaniel, whom she admired.

The inevitable happened when the settlement was a year old. Nathaniel Starbuck took Mary Coffin as his wife, for a 55 year contract as it turned out. In fact, it was the first marriage among the settlers. He simply settled into the little house on Madaket Harbor (although the Coffins held land in Fee Simple at Coatue). A room was added to become the store, Indian bureau

and trading post, which served as the commercial center of this hamlet. Mary's account book dates from that time. Nathaniel's father was also a widower, living in a nearby shanty with two daughters and a son; (after Nathaniel moved over). These were Dorcas, aged 23, his housekeeper; Esther, aged 14, and Jethro, aged 17. One other daughter (than Abigail), Sarah, aged 30, had married first a Story, and then an Austin. Curiously, she, rather than Esther, was destined to play a role on Nantucket. Jethro died a year later. His memory lived on in Mary's second son, named after him.

In 1663 brother James brought Mary Severaugt from Boston to be his bride. In fact he built a house near Capaum Pond for her. And it was to this location that the settlement moved in 1664, just as sheep raising was introduced. At that time, Tristram gave half his fee simple lands to Mary, but as the deed was not filed, the grant was never executed. This document lay forgotten until all the second generation of Coffins were gone, and then it appeared to create complex property quarrels. Not all the settlement moved to Capaum. The Swains and Bunkers moved to Polpis far eastward before the house which Nathaniel Starbuck built could be occupied. Mary gave birth to the first white baby on the island, called Mary after her mother. Then the next year the settlement moved - a Quakeress, Jane Stokes, sought them out, probably preached, and moved on. She was a bit of a radical, out of sympathy with the Quaker leadership, so she left no lasting influence.

The next year the invalidation of the Mayhew's patent and their subjection to the newly formed proprietary colony of New York, (previously Dutch) did make a lasting mark. Mary then gave birth to a second daughter, Elizabeth, and as before noted, Peter Folger moved in, opening a blacksmith shop.

In 1666 Nathaniel and Mary celebrated their fifth wedding anniversary. 1667 brought a second Quaker resident in the figure of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, whose husband Capt. Richard Gardner, brought a sloop from Cape Ann to assure rescuing mainland connections. Sarah's brother was the Samuel Shattuck who had the honor of carrying the King's order, which stopped the hanging of Quakers in Boston. But Richard was no Quaker, nor was John Swain's wife, so they did not get together to promote that religious approach.

In 1668, the first big change in the Starbuck household took place, that is, since the move from Madaket. Tristram Coffin moved into a house which he built for his youngest son, Stephen, who then aged 16, had married Mary Bunker. At that age he needed a father about! The same year, John, aged 21, wed Sarah Austin's daughter, Deborah Austin, and settled in Edgartown (as it would be called), to represent Nantucket interests there. He would become Major Coffin in time, and the ancestor of the Coffin family on the Vineyard. Thus, in 1668, Mary's household was reduced to Nathaniel, herself and their three children (for Nathaniel Jr., was born that year).

The next three years were relatively quiet: the tenth anniversary of the settling being marked by the birth of son Jethro. Also Mary's father was established as Chief Magistrate under a new patent issued in New York (1671). The next year Nathaniel and Mary celebrated their tenth wedding anniversary, and in 1673, a third son, Barnabas, was born. Also a patent creating the town of Sherborne was issued, marking the start of the struggle between the old settlers - the proprietary - and the new settlers, who formed the town. In 1674 a daughter Eunice was born, and the third Quaker arrived on the island.

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He was Stephen Hussey, fresh from convincement on Barbados under the preaching of George Fox and his subsequent arrest in Boston (with Sarah Gardner among others). He was a middle-aged bachelor, a lawyer, heir of a full share proprietor - and a stormy element, so that he didn't join forces with John Swain and Sarah Gardner to start up a Quaker Meeting.

In 1675 the population of the island doubled as King Philip's war struck terror on the mainland. Mary's brother, Peter Coffin, appeared with his family, and "put up" with Nathaniel and Mary for a year or so. Then they moved in with Edward Starbuck, whose housekeeper daughter, Dorcas, (when, aged 33 in 1672) had married William Gayer, a wandering squire, descended from English royalty. Already ten years before that Esther, then aged 20, had left the Starbuck household to marry in the Dover area - one Humphrey Varney, (who in later years, after Esther's death, would marry Sarah Austin, her sister). All of these Dover residents were being attracted to Quakerism. It was also in 1675 that a town house was built, so that public Meetings ceased to be held at the Starbuck emporium. This was as well for they were stormy, indeed, particularly as Capt. John Gardner, (who arrived in 1672), Thomas Macy and Peter Folger were opposed to Tristram Coffin, Peter Coffin and to Thomas Mayhew from Martha's Vineyard.

1676 not only marked the birth of Priscilla, the Starbuck's favorite seventh child, but also the imprisonment of Peter Folger, thus breaking apart the religious fellowship of the island - a situation which hurt both Mary and her husband. Two years later (1678) the community came out of its "tailspin" with agreement achieved regarding the rights of both proprietary and town. Mary was now aged 33, having spent nearly half her life

to that date on the island.

Again two years later in 1680 Mary's father was displaced as Chief Magistrate by Capt. John Gardner - Tristram had been nine years in office. The first school was organised in the town house. And Mary's last (eighth) child, Hephzibah, was born. In fact, her second daughter Elizabeth, then married her double first cousin, Peter Coffin, Jr., and went to live in the Edward Starbuck property. Elizabeth was 16 (as her mother had been in 1661). In another year they had built their own dwelling.

That was the year which marked the death of Tristram Coffin, after 20 years on the island, aged 77. He left 41 descendants on the island (plus three children and many other descendants on the mainland). This year also marked John Gardner's refusal to receive visiting Quakers from the Cape.

In 1683 Judge Peter Coffin returned to New Hampshire, though his family stayed on the island another eight years. Gov. Mayhew died, and though his grandson, Matthew Mayhew, carried on as Chief Magistrate on the Vineyard, all over lordship from that island evaporated. Mary was now 37, verging on middle age as her contemporaries saw it.

The next year (1683), the first grandchild was born - Abigail Coffin, named for her paternal grandmother. In another 18 years (1701) she would marry Jedidiah Fitch, refusing the hand of her cousin, Sir William Gayer(Jr.) He returned to England, dying without children in another decade, so that in 1712 Abigail Fitch inherited part of his fortune. Abigail and her family then moved to Boston, where she affiliated with the Boston Friends Meeting - perhaps thinking back to her Nantucket days and the then flourishing Nantucket Meeting. She had already provided Mary with a number of great grandchildren.

Two years later in 1685, a second grandson was born - Tristram Coffin, who, twenty-one years later, (in 1706) married Hannah Brown of a Puritan family and started raising his household on the island, inheriting the house which had been his fathers, and built by his grandfather, Judge Coffin, during the latter's stay on the island. In 1685, Mary's brother, James Coffin, became the presiding Judge on the island, thus sharing the first place with Capt. John Gardner. In 1686 the "Sunset Hill House" was built by Judge Coffin as a marriage gift to link his house and Capt. Gardner's. It symbolized peace between them. This is the "oldest house" still standing where it was built in Nantucket - a Quaker century after the island was settled. In 1687 Mary and Nathaniel celebrated their 25th wedding anniversary. Mary was rebaptized by Peter Folger. Meanwhile in Dover her sisters-in-law; Sarah Austin and Esther Varney became Quakers, the former becoming Minister in a few years. This year (1687) a third grandson was born, Nathaniel Coffin, who left for New Hampshire 19 years later in 1706, when his mother died. He and his two brothers joined their grandmother Abigail, then widow of Judge Coffin. They never returned. Also in 1687 a county known as Dukes County was erected for the islands by the New York government, and the Nantucket proprietary received a charter. These were the last acts of importance done by New York applicable to the island.

Two years later in 1689 as the "glorious revolution" changed the status of the crown under which they had lived since 1661, a third grandson, Samuel Coffin was born - to spend 17 years with her on the island. In 1690 when Mary was 45, the new authority of the semi-royal colony of Massachusetts was extended to the island, and a fourth grandson, Barnabas Coffin was born - to spend 16 years with her on the island. Also Mary's

father-in-law Edward Starbuck died aged 86, leaving 36 descendants on both islands, and three children on the mainland, as well as a number of descendants there. And Peter Folger died. As Thomas Macy had been gone eight years, the island lacked a preacher. Both Baptist and Puritan divines appeared, but they wanted fixed salaries, which Mary and others strongly opposed. Religiously she became the center of the community. Also in 1690 sister-in-law Abigail Coffin took her children (one born on the island) to New Hampshire, and two of Mary's children married. Elizabeth, now 27, married James Gardner, son of Quaker Sarah; and Nathaniel, who had for seven years now run the Indian store, married Dinah Coffin, magistrate James' daughter. Elizabeth had a new home built for her, while Nathaniel continued to live in the family home, (which came to be called the "Parliament House", as the town house was in such poor repair - that public gatherings were held at the Starbuck emporium). Nathaniel was 22 when he married. He had served an apprenticeship under Peter Folger in blacksmith work.

In 1691, the 30th anniversary of the settlement, Mary Gardner's first child was born - Elizabeth, who when only 14 years old in 1704, married Stephen Gorham of Yarmouth Quaker Meeting on the Cape. They soon moved to Boston, where as members of Boston particular and Salem M.M. they suffered great loss by fire in 1714 - for which Mary (her grandmother) sent her £7. She also presented Mary with several great grandchildren. In 1692 two grandchildren were born. One was Mary Starbuck, Nathaniel's eldest, who in 1710 aged 18, married Jethro Folger, grandson of the original Peter. Both became Quaker Elders of note, and he sat Head of the Meeting for many years. They too presented Mary with great grandchildren.

The other grandson, Samuel Gardner, likewise became an Elder in the Meeting. He first married Hephzibah Coffin, daughter of Stephen Coffin Jr., in 1707, but she died in childbirth a year later. Then in 1710 he married Patience Swain, the only Quaker child of Quaker John, also an Elder. They had one child before the Great Mary died. This marriage brought the Swain line into the "Starbuck" Meeting.

In 1692 Mary's daughter Priscilla married John Coleman Jr., (also Peter Folger's grandson). And two more grandchildren were born, the following year. These were Eunice Coffin, Elizabeth's daughter; and Jethro Gardner, Mary's son. In 1706 when her widowed mother died, Eunice, aged 14, was placed under the legal charge of her uncle, Jethro Starbuck. Three years later she was married under the care of Nantucket Meeting (1709) to Ebeneezer Gardner, son of Quaker Minister, Nathaniel Gardner, (grandson of Sarah). They had several children, (great grandchildren of Mary) but Eunice only outlived her grandmother a year. Jethro Gardner married Kezia Folger in 1716, the year before the Great Mary died. Both became Elders in the Meeting, Kezia being descended from the first Nantucket school teacher, Elenzer Folger.

In 1694 Mary's son Jethro married his cousin Dorcas Gayer, William's daughter. In 1712 she came into a fortune just as whaling took to the high seas. Actually in 1690 Nathaniel, Mary's husband, had brought over Ichabod Paddack, a Cape Quaker, to introduce shore whaling. The latter's Quakerism at least had made no impact. Also in 1694 Nathaniel's heir, Paul Starbuck, was born. He only married the year after the Great Mary's death (to a Dover N.H. granddaughter of Sarah Austin).

Paul was also a Quaker Elder. Then in 1695 as Nantucket County was created - the final separation took place from Matha's Vineyard; and Mary's eldest brother, Judge Peter died aged 62. Only seven years a resident of Nantucket, he left ten descendants there, plus five mainland children, and a much larger percent away. Also brother James lost his wife, Mary (Severance) Coffin, aged 60, (who left 24 descendants on the island). Those were the first two to go in Mary's generation. 1695 was the year that Mary's daughter, Eunice, aged 21, married George Gardner, son of magistrate John, and since 1687, town clerk. And two more grandchildren were born: Barnabas Gardner, son of Mary and Jemima Coffin, daughter of Elizabeth. Barnabas, like the rest of his family became a Quaker, (an Elder) and eventually married a Quakeress from Boston. Jemima Coffin, eventually married in Nantucket Meeting on William Swain, a grandson of John, and a not very steady character in his youth. From 1706 till she came of age in 1716, Jemima was the ward of her cousin, Stephen Coffin. Jr.

1696 indicated the end of the 16 year hegemony of Capt. John Gardner, who was replaced by William Gayer as town clerk. At the time Dordan Gayer, his wife, died aged 57, leaving but three descendants. She had married twenty years before only. And continued to care for her father in his old age.
Three more grandchildren were born: Jonathan Gardner, Mary's son; Priscilla Starbuck, Nathaniel's daughter, and Hephzibah Gardner, Eunice daughter. Jonthan became an active Quaker, as did Priscilla. She married her cousin Shubael Coffin, son of Stephen Jr., the year Mary died. Theirs was a childless tragic life. She was aged 21 when married. Hephzibah married in 1714, when aged 18, choosing Peleg Gardner, son of Minister Nathaniel, out-of-Meeting. They may well have had a child or two before

Mary died. And in 1696 Hephzibah, the youngest of Mary's children, married Thomas Hathaway of Dartmouth, when only aged 16. She would become a Quaker in two years time, send Quaker Ministers to Nantucket, and herself become a Quaker Minister. Her last visit before her mother died was in the terminal year of 1717. She had children not listed on the island. The year before (1695) Stephen Hussey's eldest daughter Puella had married into Yarmouth Meeting folk on the Cape. Thus the awareness of Quakerism increased.

In 1697 Mary and Nathaniel celebrated their 35th wedding anniversary. Two more grandchildren were born to them. Jethro had a daughter, Sarah Starbuck, who would marry a Macy after Mary's death, and be an overseer in the Meeting. Priscilla had a son, Nathaniel Coleman, who would be a well known Quaker Minister - even in Philadelphia AND LONDON. Then in 1698 the first accredited Quaker visitors arrived. And the flow continued at the rate of four or five personalities each year; a few being regular repeaters, chiefly from Newport. This Meeting took on oversight of the Nantucket Meeting, as it was formed. Curiously 1698 was the year Puritan Meetinghouses were built for the Nantucket Indians. Two grandchildren again were born. Elizabeth Starbuck was Nathaniel's daughter. She would marry George Hussey (lawyer trained son of Stephen) just before the Great Mary died in 1717, aged 19. This marked a Starbuck victory as George went to Harvard to fight the proprietary. In that same year Stephen was disowned for going to law with Friends, so that not only were the Hussey's brought into the Starbuck Meeting (as were some of the Gardners) but the Starbuck dominated proprietary and town won out by means of the Quaker discipline. The Great Mary was aged 53 in 1698.

In 1699 she, Nathaniel and their bachelor son, Barnabas, aged 26, moved into the New Parliament House, built by the town for public purposes, but looked after by the first family. Nathaniel Jr. kept the original property built in 1664, and rebuilt in 1726 on Upper Main Street, in the present Nantucket town. Also Mary's namesake, Mary Gardner, died, aged 36, leaving six children, the youngest being Mehitable Gardner, born this year and destined to serve as treasurer and clerk of the Women's Meeting. James Gardner remarried three times; first in 1699, and again in 1710, in the lifetime of his original mother-in-law. He was never drawn to Quakerism.

Also in 1699, Peter Coffin Jr., son-in-law, husband of Elizabeth, died aged 39, leaving seven children. Elizabeth remarried in 1701, choosing Nathaniel Barnard Jr., to whom she bore no children. As before indicated she died in 1706 - when aged 41, leaving nine descendants on the island. Nathaniel Barnard remarried twice again, leaving as it happened offspring by each of these unions.

Two more grandchildren appeared in 1699; they were: William Starbuck, son of Jethro, later Minister, and Priscilla's son, Elihu Coleman, an even more famous Quaker Minister and anti-slavery advocate.

Death again hit in 1700. Sister-in-law Quakeress Esther Varney died in Dover, aged 52, resident on Nantucket seven early years. Her husband would eventually marry her sister, Sarah Austin. The other death was that of brother Tristram, aged 65, who may have visited the island for proprietors Meetings. Descendants of both these relatives lived off-island.

One grandchild was born: Hephzibah Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel, future wife of a Hussey, who was to become clerk of Monthly Meeting when she was a gifted Minister.

As the settlement reached its 40th anniversary the first of Mary Starbuck's granddaughters was married. And in addition to Elizabeth's remarriage, two more grandchildren appeared: Eunice Starbuck, daughter of Jethro, future wife of Pinkham, childless. The other was Thomas Gardner, son of Eunice, future strong Congregationalist. In 1701 brother James went to Boston as representative in the legislature.

Then in 1702 John Richardson made his epochal visit and Mary Starbuck became a Quaker at the time of her 40th wedding anniversary, along with son Nathaniel and daughter Priscilla. In 1703 son Jethro and with Dorcas also joined and Nathaniel Sr. prepared a history of the island and the proprietary, as he felt that a new epoch was coming into being. In 1704 there occurred the equally important visit of Thomas Story. The Meeting for worship was established, as Mary's second granddaughter to marry, did so at Yarmouth Meeting on the Cape. Most important Mary Starbuck appeared in the Ministry, probably fifteen years after her sister-in-law, Sarah Austin, and five before her daughter, Hephzibah Hathaway. In between these last, both son Nathaniel and daughter Priscilla followed suit. The tradition of Edward Starbuck flourished - indeed, in the Quaker light - also a Fitch great granddaughter was born and a Gorham, Mary was aged 59! Barnabas became a Friend, as did Priscilla's husband, John Coleman Jr., - to sit to time the Meeting for worship. Two more grandchildren appeared. These were Abigail Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel; and Lydia Starbuck, daughter of Jethro. Abigail, future Elder, would marry twice, while Lydia, also Elder, would marry a Quaker Barney from Newport.

1705 was as important a year, for William Gayer finished his nine year tenure as town clerk to turn over that important function to Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., a post he would hold for many years. In 1708 Nathaniel would become Monthly Meeting clerk. After a detour, the central magistrates post had come back into the Great Mary's family. Also at this time Mary's youngest brother (despite a Puritan wife), Stephen, came among Friends, as did his son by the same name. He was the operator of the sheep monopoly. By another five years Stephen Coffin Jr., would also appear in the Ministry. Also in 1705 another Gorham great grandchild was born.

In 1706 daughter Elizabeth died and her household was broken up; grandson Tristram Coffin, (just married) taking the house. A Fitch great grandson was born. And two grandsons appeared - Thomas Starbuck, son of Jethro; with Jethro Coleman, son of Priscilla, both future weighty Quakers. In 1707 Grafton Gardner, Puritan son of Eunice was born, while Mary's husband had an Indian whipped for stealing. The good Indian English relationship seemed to be ebbing.

1708 witnessed the creation of Monthly Meeting, which served in fact as a court in which Mary Starbuck hoped that the island community would find a practical solvent for its problems. Did she approve of the disownment of Stephen Hussey? Or was it carried out when she was failing and unable to express opposition? No answer comes down to us. It would appear the Stephen Coffin Jr., was prepared to act decisively. Did he bring Nathaniel Starbuck along reluctantly? In any case, the founding of Nantucket Monthly Meeting brought Minister Sarah Austin to Nantucket for three years, and the convincement of John Coffin of Edgartown, how no longer Major. His wife,

Sarah's daughter, had joined Friends four years before. Brother John would die in 1711, aged 64, leaving 14 descendants (at least on the islands). And Deborah, his widow, settled on Nantucket, while her mother went home to Dover. Both died the same year, three years after the Great Mary. By 1711 the Friends Meetinghouse was built, as the outward symbol of the inward reality. Daughter-in-law Dorcas became the first women clerk in 1708, while Nathaniel Sr., took his place beside his wife as a member. Barnabas Starbuck became the first treasurer. A Fitch great-granddaughter was born. Barnabas Coleman, Priscilla's son, later an Elder was born. And the jail was built. ~~James~~ Patrick Henderson was the overseer Friend to guide the Monthly Meeting into formation.

Then in 1709 Mary wrote the report from the Women's Monthly Meeting to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, to which their Meeting was naturally attached. This was her only recorded Quaker service. She did not even sign the request for Monthly Meeting in which her three sons and Quaker daughter, Jethro's wife and Priscilla's husband made up six of the eight names. Mary wrote her report on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Nantucket proprietary. It was a long way from the inn in Newbury, in which an anti-Quaker lawwas decreed! The first Quaker wedding was held in Mary's "bright rubbed room" in the Parliament House - Meeting for worship and Women's Monthly Meetings were held there - the men gathering at her son Nathaniel's in the old Parliament House. In 1709 Nathaniel's son, Tristram Starbuck, was born, destined to take whaling to Wales. And a Gorham great grandson was born.

In 1710 the first wharf at the Great Harbor (present Nantucket) was built. And Mary Starbuck, (the Men's clerk eldest daughter), aged 18, married Jethro Folger, grandson of Peter. Future Head of Meeting - both Elders. At least one child was born to them before Mary died. This year Mary's husband joined her sons in writing the report to the Men's Quarterly Meeting - his sole Quaker appointment it would appear. Two deaths occurred, Mary's sister, Elizabeth Greenleaf, died on the North Shore, aged 72, and Mary's sister-in-law, Abigail (Peter's widow), died aged 65, leaving 15 descendants on the island, and four children on the mainland, plus another numerous progeny.

Then in 1711 came brother John's passing. A Folger great-granddaughter was born, and as well Phebe Coleman, Priscilla's next child, destined to marry into an accomplished Quaker portion of the Folgers. 1712 brought the departure of the Fitch family and the arrival of wealth and deep sea whaling, but there were only six sloops going out far by 1715, so that whaling was still a subsidiary industry as long as Mary lived. Did she wonder at the bloody hunt? Did she approve of the wealth it promised? In any case 1712 marked Nathaniel and Mary's golden wedding anniversary. A Gardner great grandson was born; as well Jemima Starbuck, Jthro's daughter was born. She would marry an Allen in Meeting. Mary was aged 67.

The next year brought news of another Fitch great grandson, born in Boston, while Priscilla Coleman, daughter of Mary's favorite daughter, Priscilla Coleman - likewise favorite, was born. She would marry a Bunker and play a large role in Meeting affairs. 1714 brought two great grandchildren - a Gardner and a Folger; relief for a granddaughter in Boston;

and Nathaniel's daughter, Ruth Starbuck, later wife of a Russell whose father had left Dartmouth where her Aunt Hephzibah lived. Also a Puritan granddaughter Hephzibah Gardner married.

In 1715, Mary celebrated her three score years and ten - and then withdrew from active life - her husband wrote his will the next year. John Swain, the original Quaker, died - (Stephen Hussey outlived her a year), while Sarah Gardner carried on till 1724. Two more grandchildren were born in 1715: Mary Starbuck, daughter of Jethro; and John Coleman, third, son of Priscilla. Mary became an Elder and married a Mitchell, a Quaker Minister from Newport. John married a Pinkham of not so high a station - but was a faithful Friend.

1716 brought enlargement to the Meetinghouse, and the building of a new Town House. Public affairs were moving out of the Parliament House - and the Men's Monthly Meeting from the residence of Nathaniel Jr. As Mary Starbuck took her seat for the last time in the Women's Gallery of the enlarged Meetinghouse, two Gardner great grandsons were born. Also born was Nathaniel's daughter, Anna Starbuck, later Barnard, and Elder. Perhaps most satisfying was the stand Monthly Meeting took against slavery, a position pushed by daughter Priscilla, and approved by her mother - perhaps partly because the Hussey's kept a few men in bondage for life.

The end came in 1717 when Mary was 72, when the second wharf was built at the Great Harbor. She left 57 descendants of whom 11 only were not Quakers. There was also her husband, who lived two more years. Her brother, James, who lived three more years and brother Stephen Coffin, 14 years more. Sisters-in-law Sarah Austin and (her daughter) Deborah Coffin went when brother James did. Hephzibah Hathaway visited as her mother

failed, and all land holdings were resurveyed. In fact the removal of the town from Capaum to the Great Harbor only came in the next decade. The Parliament House was sold just before the hurricane of 1722 when Barnabas moved to Newport. It moved with the town, and stands today near the Baptist Church, representing the faith from which the Great Mary moved for the last 15 years of her life.

DOUGLAS-LITHGOW SAYS MARY STARBUCK WAS A WOMAN OF STRONG MAGNETIC PERSONALITY, EXTRAORDINARY ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY WHO HAD A JUDICIAL MIND, CLEAR UNDERSTANDING AND POSSESSED A GENIUS FOR PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC. SHE "GAINED MANY CONVERTS BY HER STRONG AND HEART-TOUCHING ADDRESSES"

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

VOLUME III

1763-1773

CHAPTER I

## The Wider Scene in 1763

The British Empire emerged as the great power in America in 1763. Two million, two hundred thousand, subjects scattered over the eastern third of North America were governed by the Crown in Parliament through at least twenty-four colonial administrative units - many in fact largely self-governing. These two million, two hundred thousand souls included some seventy-five thousand who were members of the Society of Friends, comprising five Yearly Meetings (and a scattering of local meetings in the Carribean belonging to London Yearly Meeting). Six of the twenty-two colonies were Quaker dominated or partially so. And in London the Society of Friends still played an important role in colonial administration, although Richard Partridge, the key figure in Quaker colonial affairs had died in 1759. In fact the Society had become an Anglo-American phenomenon almost entirely. In spite of the coming together of the French Yearly Meeting (recognised in 1788), the Dutch and German and Danish Meetings were fading - as in fact so were the British Meetings in the West Indies.

Nevertheless, both the Empire and Quakerism were vital expanding phenomena in the American scene. Cutting across this growth was to be found a native self-sufficiency, which if threatened was capable of insurgency. In fact that is what happened from 1763 to 1773. Quakers found themselves torn in the middle of this revolutionary movement. Nowhere was this precarious balance more sharply appreciated than on Nantucket where in 1763 the 950 adult members of the Society of Friends thought of themselves as favored participants in the emerging British hegemony. The Spanish Empire in America had been on the losing side in 1763. The Portugese and Dutch Empires were allied to Britain. Scandinavian possessions were minimal. France was reduced to a similar situation, and Russian discoveries in Alaska were unknown.

Nantucket Monthly Meeting lay in the jurisdiction of two Governments; both royal; those of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia. Nantucket Friends welcomed the royal rule in both places. Without it the puritan oligarchy, though moderated, might well prove difficult. In Massachusetts Governor Francis Barnard, 1760-1769, was favorable to the 1764 Whaling Act passed by the Parliament in Westminster granting Nantucket whaling a very advantageous situation in the colonial economy, in contrast to the Granville Sugar Act of that year. Lt.-Gov. Thomas Hutchinson (later Governor 1769-1774) was even more openly pro-Nantucket in policy. In Nova Scotia Gov. Thomas Carr had arranged in 1763 for the settlement of the Nantucket Colony in Barrington Township, where 65 participants had arrived, 55 of whom were from the Quaker community off Cape Cod. There were only 9,000 inhabitants in Nova Scotia, mostly New England emigrants who were taking over the French Canadian or Acadian lands.

In contrast Massachusetts (including the District of Maine) had 250,000 inhabitants (22,000 alone in Boston). In addition to Nantucket, there were five Monthly Meetings of Friends, comprising one Quarterly Meeting, and parts of two others (possibly 4,000 members in all).

Massachusetts was the most prosperous of the twenty-two colonies, and possessed a solid currency - based largely, it must be said, on Spanish silver dollars reinforced by smuggling. In 1763 Massachusetts paid £750,000 less to the British customs than she did in 1760, when James Otis objected to the right of the Crown to search houses for smuggled goods. In Boston the weekly newspapers had displaced the pulpit as the principal source of information, much of it in fact less than honest. They supplied the medium whereby James Otis claimed the Sugar Act of 1764 violated the Constitution of the British Empire.

If half British trade made its way to Boston, its shipping was largely produced in New Hampshire, a royal colony presided over by Gov. John Wentworth, the great supplier of timber to the British Navy. His colony had some 50,000 settlers, possibly 1,000 of them Quakers in two Monthly Meetings. Unlike Nova Scotia and Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire had their own parliaments (or General Courts as they were called).

To the north of Nova Scotia lay the royal colony of Newfoundland, where Gov. Hugh Palliser, a strong autocrat (ruling without a legislature) objected to Nantucket whalers using his colony's facilities. Palliser favored only his own native cod fishery. His colony counted some 15,000 subjects. Equally unfriendly was the vast Company Colony of the Hudson's Bay, which not only dealt in furs, but operated its own rival arctic fishery out of the Orkney (or all places). Also to the north and west lay the Royal Colony of Quebec of some 70,000 settlers (nearly all French-speaking), under Gov. James Murray who ruled without benefit of a legislature. In fact no Catholic (nor Jew, nor Unitarian, nor Deist) could hold public office in the British Empire. Some like Benjamin Franklin dissimulated his belief to hold office. And in 1774 the Quebec Act indicated the British Crown was accommodating to Catholics, but that would come only in another decade.

Nantucket M.M. was of course oriented toward the Chartered Republic of Rhode Island as Quarterly Meeting was held there. And this was clearly a Quaker dominated government - the only one wholly under the influence of the Society of Friends in 1763. Gov. Stephen Hopkins ranks with William Penn as a great colonial figure. In 1765 he actually joined the Society of Friends and, ironically, was disowned in 1774 for retaining a slave, though he had worked untiringly for the abolition of slavery in Rhode Island. Hopkins had played an important role in Benjamin Franklin's abortive Albany Conference of 1754, took the lead in objecting to the Sugar Act on 1764, and proposed the first Continental Congress of 1774. There were five Monthly Meetings in Rhode Island comprising half the population of 30,000 souls there.

The other chartered republic, that of Connecticut with 200,000 inhabitants possessed few Quakers (mostly members of New York Yearly Meeting) though a community of schismatic Rogerene Quakers lived near Mystic (possibly 1,000 in all). Strangely enough in this bastion of puritanism, Gov. Jonathan Trumbull was an associate of several Nantucket Quaker whalers, and he would later turn on them, bringing even for a time the name of William Rotch into public colonial disrepute. In New Haven was to be found a rival to Harvard College in Yale College. Other towns than New Haven of importance in New England were Hartford, Norwich, Providence, New Port, naturally Boston, Salem, Portsmouth and Nantucket. In Canada Montreal and Quebec were of similar stature.

Possibly the most prosperous colony was that of New York where no taxes of any kind were levied from 1764 to 1770. This royal colony was living off the largess of the British Government which had transmitted £250,000 for quartering troops there during the French and Indian War. Lt. Gov. Cadwallader Colden led a merchant class in the Port of New York (18,000 inhabitants) who were markedly royalist in sentiment. New York Yearly Meeting, consisting of four Monthly Meetings (comprising two Quarterly Meetings, and possibly 4,000 members in a colony of 200,000 inhabitants) had always kept in close contact with Nantucket. An important Nantucket Quaker emigration to New York had already started. In fact Hudson N.Y. became after Nova Scotia its next important whaling subsidiary (if New Bedford is overlooked).

Quakers occupied a more influential position in New Jersey where a quarter of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting members were to be found i.e. in ten Monthly Meetings, comprising three Quarterly Meetings (about 10,000 members) in a province of 100,000 inhabitants. Gov. William Franklin, an illegitimate son of the more famous Benjamin, was strongly loyalist in sentiment. This royal colony was kept from being merged with New York by the work of its agent, the earlier mentioned Richard Partridge (both Partridge and Franklin had Nantucket cousins). Partridge was agent for New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, his native New Hampshire and for Pennsylvania as well. According to one observer Quaker Partridge

> "Possessed in full measure the requisites of alertness, industry, resource, practical common sense and shrewd judgement", as well as "appreciated and used money to the best advantage in bribes and fees".

Partridge was followed by Benjamin Franklin himself from 1764 to 1774 as chief colonial agent. His Quaker collaborator was David Barclay, head of the now famous Barclay's Bank.

The proprietary colony of Pennsylvania was the most international of British provinces overseas. Many of its 250,000 inhabitants spoke German. Gov. Thomas Penn, ex-Quaker, administered this colony

and the proprietary colony of Delaware. In 1756 Samuel Fothergill, who had involved himself in the famous commons case on Nantucket, persuaded six of the 18 Pennsylvania Quaker legislators to resign, thus bringing the "Holy Experiment" of Penn's Quaker dominated government to an end. This was the occasion for setting up the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (80 years after its British prototype). New York Y.M. followed Philadelphia's example in 1759 (three years later), and New England Y.M. only set hers up in 1776. In 1763 some 200 Philadelphia Friends took up arms against the "Paxson boys", a backlash from the Pontiac Indian Conspiracy. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting consisted of 46 Monthly Meetings (comprising 9 Quarterly Meetings) - New England had 12 Monthly Meetings (3 Quarterly Meetings). Nineteen Monthly Meetings lay in Pennsylvania itself (composing 3 Quarterly Meetings and part of a fourth). This influential body of 20,000 members had made the slave trade disownable in 1758 - which must not have set well in Newport, active as that city was in the three cornered trade. But by 1773 New England Y.M. made slavery itself a disownable offense, while both New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings only took that stand in 1776. (The Maryland section of Philadelphia Quakerism was the first to make slave holding disownable, that is in 1772). In 1780 the State of Pennsylvania outlawed slavery. Four years later Benjamin Franklin became president of the American Anti-slavery Society. It should be noted that in 1763 Philadelphia was the second largest English-speaking city in the world with 25,000 inhabitants. There Franklin's university outshone Princeton in New Jersey, or Kings College in New York (later Columbia).

In Delaware the two Monthly Meetings comprised 1,000 members in a population of 20,000 (each Meeting belonged to a different Quarterly Meeting). Next door the proprietary colony of Maryland was governed by a man called Sharpe. Here 165,000 inhabitants included 3,000 Friends in six Monthly Meetings (in two Quarterly Meetings and part of a third). The main body of Friends was semi-autonomous as regards Philadelphia (much as Ireland stood in relation to London Yearly Meeting until 1797). Nantucket contacts in Maryland appear to have been minimal. Notwithstanding the now protestant Lord Baltimore worked through a London Quaker merchant Mark Beaufoy, and then through James Collinson (brother of Peter the famous botanist). Beaufoy had presented the loyal address upon the accession of King George III in 1760. Even George was fond of Quakers; his particular friend was David Barclay.

Southwards from Maryland lay Virginia the greatest of the 22 colonies. Here 400,000 people (as in Maryland about a third black) were ruled by Gov. Fauquier (Dinwiddie's successor). There were 9 Quaker Monthly Meetings in Virginia (two belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting). Seven comprised Virginia Yearly Meeting (two Quarterly Meetings) a total of some 3,500 members (5,500 if the two northern Monthly Meetings were included). In 1768 Virginia Yearly Meeting made slave trading disownable (a decade after Philadelphia), and in 1784 slave holding became anathema. Thus American Quaker slavery disappeared.

Gov. Fauquier was concerned lest the Indian Proclamation line of 1763 was designed to snatch the Ohio company from the old Dominion. For it was George Washington's intrusion in the Ohio country in 1752 on behalf of the first Ohio Company which precipitated the French and Indian War. Once again there is to be found a Quaker involvement for John Hanbury, a wealthy London Quaker, promoted the Ohio Company through his friend the Duke of Newcastle (the burough-monger). Hanbury was a tobacco importer.

Southwards as royal as Virginia was to be found North Carolina under the care of Gov. William Tryon. But unlike Virginia which was dominated by the Anglican Church, North Carolina (like New York and New Jersey) put up with a fictitious Anglican establishment. However, it should be pointed out that in 1763 an anti-establishment Virginian one Patrick Henry made a name for himself by questioning the right of the Crown to disallow a two-penny tax act of the House of Burgesses. Both colonies contained Yearly Meetings of Friends - that in North Carolina consisting of ten Monthly Meetings (in two Quarterly Meetings), probably 8,000 members. Until 1752 these were coastal, but the spill southward from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (which affected Virginia) led to a tidewater Carolina development - to which Nantucket would soon add an impressive immigration. In 1781 North Carolina Yearly Meeting "bought" all slaves held by Quaker owners, as the state law forbad manumitting such chattels. They had made the slave trade disownable in 1772. Some 200,000 people of many different origins (many European) composed the North Carolina scene.

South Carolina, both royal and effectively Anglican, was composed of 135,000 inhabitants (majority slave) under the care of Gov. Charles Granville Montagu. Some 10,000 lived in its civilized capital, Charleston, where one of the two Quaker Meetings was to be found - part, incidentally, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The other belonged to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. There were perhaps 500 Friends in South Carolina.

Georgia, royal since 1756, was ruled by Gov. Wright, so respected he was that when in 1773 a group of South Carolina Friends settled in Georgia they named their Monthly Meeting after him. There were probably about 8,000 colonists in Georgia in 1763. In the south there were no towns of importance except for Charleston and Annapolis. And Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was the only place of importance in the middle colonies except for Philadelphia and New York. Nor was there any southern college except that at Williamsburg, Virginia, called after William and Mary.

Florida had been ceded to Britain by the Peace of Paris. And its Spanish inhabitants thereupon vacated the place. The British set up two administrative centers, one at St. Augustine under Maj.-Gen. James Grant. where scarcely 400 settlers were to be found in 1763. The other at Tallahassee under Gov. George Johnstone flourished with 2,000 settlers including the Creole French at Biloxi, Miss. Here an attempt at setting up a legislature was frustrated by retrocession to Spain in 1783.

Three older British colonies in the area had no legislature either. First there was Bermuda, where Gov. William Shirley, previously of Massachusetts kept a firm hand. Then there was the Bahamas, and finally Jamaica under Gov. Henry Lyttleton. Here Quakerism once strong enough to have its own Yearly Meeting, was crumbling into limbo.

The new royal colony of Granada (like the other royal island governments) was autocratic under Gov. Robert Melville. On the island of Tobago was to be found a declining Monthly Meeting, belonging to London Yearly Meeting (as did those on Jamaica). Finally on Barbadoes the Governor was charged with the care of a population which included the members of two Monthly Meetings (one on Antigua). The great fire which gutted Bridgetown in 1767 played its role in the decline of the Quaker Meeting on Barbadoes. There were probably 90,000 British settlers in the Antilles (five colonies). Of these less than 2,000 were Quakers. The Sugar Act of 1764 was intended to increase the prosperity of these islands. No wonder like Nantucket they showed little revolutionary sentiment. The Sugar Duty was to have been raised from five shillings to one pound seven shillings. Better than a five fold increase on French sugar - and the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe were to be excluded from the trade altogether. Finally the Duty on British islands' sugar was to be cut in half.

With this revenue in hand Britain counted on paying some of the £312,774 allocated to support royal garrisons in America. From 1756 to 1776, the home Government spent some £4,500,000 annually on their American Empire. Prestige, trade and the follies of the protectionist system allowed for such extravagance. It seemed only prudent to expect that more than two million subjects abroad should bear some of the burden imposed on the twenty million subjects at home. Incidentally, Prime Minister Granville, who promoted the Sugar Act of 1764, also had his especial Quaker friend, Thomas Hyam, the most plutocratic of the Baltic merchants in London. The Baltic Hansa paid its duties - why not the American litoral?

When the revolt came thirteen colonies seceded, taking from the Crown about 1,800,000 of those who made up the 1763 figure of 2,200,000 (plus of course natural population increase). In the end some 200,000 colonists emigrated to loyalist areas (including some Nantucket Quakers) making for about 400,000 still governed by the Crown (plus their normal population increase). In other words two thirds of the British Empire in America seceded. But it must be noted that the vast majority of Quakers lived in the new republic.

This was the world in which the Quaker whaler of 1763 lived. And he knew it almost as well as Benjamin Franklin who was the colonial agent after 1764.

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APPENDIX B

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF STEPHEN COFFIN JR.

Stephen Coffin Jr., 1675 - 1725, was the first Friend of distinction to die after Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, his aunt. Stephen was the third son of the Quaker landowner of that name, and his Puritan wife, Mary (Bunker) Coffin, (whom he had married in 1668). He was thus a third generation Nantucketer, who grew up during the "rule" of John Gardner. There were ten children in all in this family; the first three of whom left the island. Daniel Coffin, the eldest became a merchant in Boston, leaving in the early 1690's. With him went the third, Peter Coffin, who married off-island and never returned. (Some of Daniel's family did - his wife being an island Stratton) The second, Dionis (Coffin) Norton, married a Vineyarder also in the early 1690's and has descendants who returned.

The member of the family closest to Stephen Jr., was his much married Quaker sister, Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard-Wilcox, who sat Head of the Women's Meeting after 1714. Two other sisters joined Meeting the eighth and ninth in the family. These were: Anna (Coffin) Gardner, wife of Solomon, (non-Quaker); and Hephzibah (Coffin) Gardner, first wife of Elder Samuel, who died as the Monthly Meeting was just starting.

-X-

Two other sisters; Susannah (Coffin) Bunker, wife of Capt. Peleg; and Mehitable (Coffin) Smith, wife of Armstrong of Philadelphia, stayed outside Meeting. In Mehitable's case, she lived in Pennsylvania many years before returning to the island a widow with her family. The youngest of the family was Paul Coffin, who would normally have inherited the landowners estate, except he predeceased his father. Paul's widow eventually married a rich Quaker merchant of Newport R.I., whose family kept up Quaker contacts on the far-away island.

Stephen married his Vineyard cousin, Experience (Look) Coffin, 1672 - 1759, in 1693, (her mother having been a Bunker), and soon thereafter built his own residence on the moors. Five children were born to them: Shubael Coffin, 1694 - 1737; Zephaniah Coffin, 1699 - 1774; Mary Coffin, 1705 - 1787; Hephzibah (Coffin) Barnard, 1708 - 1782, (wife of Elder Robert); and Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck-Folger, 1713 - 1793, wife first of Benjamin Starbuck and then of Rep. Abishai Folger. In her old age she emigrated to Hudson N.Y. Stephen "operated" the proprietary while managing the controlling shares of his father. He was thus Nathaniel Starbuck, (his cousin's) chief political ally in town affairs. Stephen was fence viewer (1702), juryman (1704), constable (1705), surveyor (1706), overseer of sheep shearing (1707), collector of stray cattle (1707), assessor (1711), lot-layer (1711), selectman (1711), on committee to build the new Town House (1716), 30'x24', town moderator (1720), town financial advisor (1723) and "hogreeve" (1725). In fact, cousin Nathaniel inherited his post as moderator, while Shubael, his eldest son, became selectman. Stephen was obviously a political animal. He joined Meeting in 1708 with his father, (six after his famous aunt). Experience joined him. In two years or so Stephen appeared in the Ministry and six years after that Experience became an

Elder. In other words, the junior landowner Coffins were establishment Quakers - though probably Stephen's ministry was not of the calibre of his aunt's, nor of his cousin's.

In fact Stephen was "cut off" in 1725 in his 50th year. He had written a will, which gave his property to his widow. There had been surprisingly little change in his own household. Of course, his grandfather, Tristram Coffin, died when Stephen was aged six. Uncle Peter Coffin, Chief-Justice of New Hampshire died when he was twenty. Uncle Tristram Coffin (whom he may not have met) died when Stephen was twenty-five). Aunt Elizabeth Greenleaf, similarly disappeared, when he was thirty-five. Still a year later, Uncle John Coffin, the one-time Major, new Quaker, died in Edgartown, when Stephen Jr., was aged 36. They did meet on occasion. Aunt Mary Starbuck died when Stephen was aged 42. And Uncle James Coffin followed when he was aged 45. Stephen's father outlived him, but his mother died when he was aged 49. In Stephen's mother's family his Aunt Anne Coleman had gone the year of his birth. Aunt Elizabeth Look, (his mother-in-law) died on the Vineyard when Stephen was aged 25. Uncle William Bunker was gone when he passed his 37th birthday. But Aunt Martha Hussey survived him by many years. In his immediate family only brother Daniel and sister Hephzibah predeceased him. As before indicated, Hephzibah died in 1708, when Stephen was aged 33, and Daniel followed in 1724, when Stephen was aged 49. His widow outlived him by 84 more years - while four of their five children were alive at her death. Shubael had married Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, daughter of cousin Nathaniel in 1717, but had no children. Zephaniah married Miriam (Macy) Coffin in 1725, just as his father faded out - she being daughter of John, the

leading Quaker Elder. Mary never married, but after her mother's death lived with her sister Dinah. Hephzibah and Dinah only married after their father's death. Stephen left only five descendants in 1725!

Stephen Coffin undertook 15 Quaker appointments from 1709 to 1722. 10 of which were marriage counselling in substance. The first Quaker marriage passed under his eye and the last had to be interviewed was refused the right to marry. Elders Samuel Gardner and Jethro Gardner fell to his care, as well as Ministers William Starbuck and Elihu Coloman. Stephen also sat in on the dealing involving Stephen Hussey, and the transfer out of Mary Rogers. At least once he attended Quarterly Meeting, (in 1715). He apparently missed an appointment there in 1719, but wrote an epistle to Newport in 1717.

Parallel to this service Experience accepted 13 appointments from the Women's Meeting, (beginning only in 1716). All consisting of marriage counselling. After Stephen's death she continued to be active till 1732 only. Four more marriage counselling appointments came her way. And she was in the courts for being defrauded by an adventurer in 1727.

Stephen and Experience also raised a cousin Jemima Coffin, later Swain, granddaughter of Judge Peter, who was their ward from 1706 to 1716. Stephen was known to have Indians "bound" over to him and was probably the chief protagonist in the disownment of Stephen Hussey. He was in any case a typical business-like Coffin, but one who probably did not forsake the moors for the rolling sea. Quakerism for him was subservient to the ends of good government typified by proprietary control. He was a Quaker the last 17 years of his life, while Experience managed over a half-century.

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

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APPENDIX C

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NANTUCKET FAMILY GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

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The following charts were originally conceived as comprising some twenty small chapters. On reflection that would appear to be a disproportionate space as contrasted to the fourteen chapters of this volume. They are important - one is tempted to say essential for understanding the role of the Quaker Meeting in a frightfully intermarried Island community.

The plan followed is to introduce the main Nantucket families in the order of which one or more of its members became Quakers. Each family is traced through its first four generations, though numbers of children in the fifth generation is noted.

Quakers are underlined in red, AS ARE WEDDINGS UNDER THE CARE OF NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING. Heads of families are bracketed. THOSE WHO CAME AS QUAKERS OR WHO LEFT ARE BRACKETED IN ORANGE.

It is interesting to note that headship went through the brothers in a given generation - and then at that point the family broke up into groups of cousins following a similar leadership pattern. Where the number of children and their spouses exceed the space of a given page, a new page or pages is (are) added to accommodate a given family. In a numberof cases fourth generation personnel born after 1733 are listed as they form part of a family already present during the time-span of this volume.

Order of appearance of family:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Swain | Starbuck | Folger | Macy |
| Gardner | Coleman | Bunker | Worth |
| Hussey | Coffin | Barnard | |

# SWAIN FAMILY — CHART #1

I

RICHARD SWAIN
1602 – 1682 + 1625 (I)
JEAN ?
1605 – 1662

II

RICHARD SWAIN JR
1630 – 1685

JOHN SWAIN
1630 – 1715 + 1666
MARY WIER
1635 – 1688

III

JOHN SWAIN SR
1664 – 1768 + 1692
EXPERIENCE FOLGER
1670 – 1759
[SEE CHART #3 (FOLGER)]

SARAH SWAIN
1670 – 1757 + 1690
JOSEPH NORTON
1670 – ?

JOSEPH SWAIN
1678 – 1766 + 1695
MARY SIBLEY
1678 – 1761
[SEE CHART #2]

BENJAMIN SWAIN
1679 – 1757 + 1705
MARY TAYLOR
1680 – 1718
[SEE CHART #4 (GARDNER)]

PATIENCE SWAIN
1683 – 1746 + 1710
SAMUEL GARDNER
1692 – 1757
[SEE CHART #4 (GARDNER)]

IV

JOHN SWAIN III
1698 – 1744 + 1712 — 10 CHILDREN
MARY SWETT
1689 – 1751

ELIAKIM SWAIN
1694 – 1750 + 1717 (I) — 11 CHILDREN
ELIZABETH ARTHUR
1698 – 1741
ABIGAIL (COFFIN) WORBURY
1700 – 1770 + 1742 (II) — 1 CHILD

WILLIAM SWAIN
1695 – 1770 + 1727 — 3 CHILDREN?
JEMIMA COFFIN
1695 – 1766

KATHARINE SWAIN
1698 – 1741 + 1720 — 1 CHILD
ROBERT WIER
1695 – 1761

HANNAH SWAIN
1700 – 1779 + 1720 — 8 CHILDREN?
THOMAS GARDNER
1701 – 1784

PRISCILLA SWAIN
1702 – 1757 + 1721 — 4 CHILDREN?
DANIEL BUNKER
1696 – 1746

STEPHEN SWAIN
1702 – 1785 + 1723 (I) — 1 CHILD
ELEANOR ELLIS
1705 – 1725
KATHARINE (SULLIVAN) HEATH
1701 – 1786 + 1731 (II)

GEORGE SWAIN
1708 – 1797 + 1729 — 5 CHILDREN?
LOVE PADDOCK
1711 – 1792

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| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| I RICHARD SWAIN | 1661 – 1682 |
| II JOHN SWAIN SR. | 1682 – 1715 |
| III JOHN SWAIN JR. | 1715 – 1738 |
| III JOSEPH SWAIN | 1738 – 1766 |
| IV WILLIAM SWAIN | 1766 – 1770 |
| IV STEPHEN SWAIN | 1770 – 1785 |
| IV GEORGE SWAIN | 1785 – 1797 |
| TOTALS | (1) |

(2) (5) (8) (44)

**SWAIN FAMILY** — CHART #2

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [SEE CHART #1] ↓ JOSEPH SWAIN 1673 - 1766 + 1695 — MARY SIBLEY 1675 - 1701 | PETER SWAIN 1697 - 1770 + 1720 — ELIZABETH ELLIS 1700 - 1775 | |
| | | RICHARD SWAIN 1698 - 1744 + 1722 — ELIZABETH GARDNER 1706 - 1795 | 9 CHILDREN |
| | | CALEB SWAIN 1700 - 1785 + 1726 — MARGARET PELLACK 1705 - 1789 | 14 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #1] ↓ BENJAMIN SWAIN 1679 - 1757 + 1705 — MARY TAYLOR 1680 - 1718 | JETHRO SWAIN 1706 - 1791 + 1734 — DORCAS RIDER 1710 - 1788 | |
| | | PELEG SWAIN 1709 - 1789 + 1730 — MARY HUSSEY 1706 - 1758 | |
| | | PATIENCE SWAIN 1711 - 1796 + 1728 — JONATHAN RUSSELL 1710 - 1791 | |
| | | CHRISTOPHER SWAIN 1714 - 1794 | |
| | | NATHANIEL SWAIN 1717 - 1745 + 1739 — JANE SMITH 1720 - 1787 | |

| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| IV PETER SWAIN | 1766 - 1770 |
| II CALEB SWAIN | 1770 - 1785 |
| IV JETHRO SWAIN | 1766 - 1791 |
| TOTALS | (3) (19) |
| GRAND TOTAL | (93) (5) — |

# GARDNER FAMILY — CHART *1

| I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| THOMAS GARDNER 1600 – 1660 +1620 | JOHN GARDNER 1625 – 1706 +1658 | JOHN GARDNER JR. 1654 – 1720 +1680 | JOHN GARDNER III 1690 – 1759 +1710 | |
| | | SUSANNAH GREENE 1655 – 1710 | PRISCILLA COFFIN 1691 – 1772 | |
| | | | JEREMIAH GARDNER 1691 – 1768 +1711 — 10 CHILDREN | |
| | | | SARAH COFFIN 1695 – 1739 | |
| | [SEE CHART *1] (STARBUCK) | PRISCILLA GARDNER 1656 – 1700 +1676 | | |
| | | JOHN ARTHUR 1655 – 1700 | | |
| | | GEORGE GARDNER 1660 – 1750 +1695 | | |
| | | EUNICE STARBUCK 1674 – 1766 | | |
| | | BENJAMIN GARDNER 1664 – 1730 | | |
| | PRISCILLA GRAFTON 1630 – 1717 | ANNA GARDNER 1667 – 1745 +1690 | HEPHZIBAH GARDNER 1696 – 1742 +1714 (I) | |
| | [SEE SPECIAL CHART *1] (COFFIN) | EDWARD COFFIN 1669 – 1710 | PELEG GARDNER 1691 – 1718 | |
| | | NATHANIEL GARDNER 1668 – 1740 | WILLIAM GARDNER 1691 – 1759 +1719 (II) | |
| | [SEE CHART *1] (COFFIN) | MARY GARDNER 1670 – 1747 +1686 | PRISCILLA GARDNER 1698 – 1755 +1720 | |
| | | JETHRO COFFIN 1668 – 1726 | BARNABAS PINKHAM 1699 – 1772 | |
| | [SEE CHART *2] | RACHEL GARDNER 1671 – 1705 +1686 (I) | THOMAS GARDNER 1701 – 1784 +1724 — 7 CHILDREN | |
| | | JOHN BROWN 1662 – 1695 | HANNAH SWAIN 1700 – 1779 | |
| | | JAMES GARDNER 1664 – 1723 +1699 (II) | CRAFTON GARDNER 1707 – 1789 +1730 — 7 CHILDREN | |
| | RICHARD GARDNER 1631 – 1688 +1652 | MEHITABLE GARDNER 1674 – 1720 +1695 | ABIGAIL COFFIN 1710 – 1796 | |
| | SARAH SHATTUCK 1632 – 1724 | AMBROSE DAWES 1670 – 1700 | | |
| | [SEE CHART *2] | RUTH GARDNER 1676 – 1748 +1692 | | |
| | | JAMES COFFIN JR. 1664 – 1741 † [SEE CHART *2] (COFFIN) | | |
| | (2) | (10) | (4) | (14) |
| (1) | | | (2) | (10) |

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HEADS OF FAMILIES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| II | RICHARD GARDNER | 1667 – 1672 |
| II | JOHN GARDNER | 1672 – 1706 |
| III | GEORGE GARDNER | 1706 – 1750 |
| IV | JOHN GARDNER III | 1750 – 1759 |
| IV | JEREMIAH GARDNER | 1759 – 1768 |
| IV | THOMAS GARDNER | 1750 – 1784 |
| IV | CRAFTON GARDNER | 1784 – 1789 |
| TOTALS | | (1) |

GARDNER FAMILY — CHART #2

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| [SEE CHART #1] (MACY) → | JOSEPH GARDNER 1652 - 1701 + 1672 | | |
| | BETHIAH MACY 1650 - 1732 | | |
| | SARAH GARDNER 1652 - 1729 + 1671 | SARAH GARDNER 1672 - 1756 + 1696 — 3 CHILDREN | |
| [SEE CHART #1] (FOLGER) → | ELEAZER FOLGER 1674 - 1716 | JOSEPH PADDACK 1670 - 1752 | |
| [SEE CHART #3] → | RICHARD GARDNER JR. 1653 - 1728 + 1674 | [SEE CHART #1 (BARNARD)] | |
| | MARY AUSTIN 1655 - 1721 | DAMARIS GARDNER 1674 - 1696 + 1694 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] (MACY) → | DEBORAH GARDNER 1658 - 1696 + 1674 (I) | STEPHEN BARNARD 1674 - 1748 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] ↓ | JOHN MACY 1655 - 1691 | [SEE CHART #1] (FOLGER) ↓ | |
| RICHARD GARDNER 1631 - 1686 + 1652 — | STEPHEN PEASE 1655 - 1700 + 1693 (II) | BETHIAH GARDNER 1676 - 1716 + 1706 — 3 CHILDREN | |
| SARAH SHATTUCK 1632 - 1724 | JAMES GARDNER 1664 - 1723 + 1691 (I) | ELEAZER FOLGER JR. 1672 - 1756 | |
| [SEE CHART #4] → | MARY STARBUCK 1663 - 1699 | | |
| [SEE CHART #] → | RACHEL (GARDNER) BROWN 1671 - 1709 + 1699 (II) | HOPE GARDNER 1683 - 1750 + 1696 — 8 CHILDREN | |
| | PATIENCE HARKER 1686 - 1718 + 1710 (III) | PETER COFFIN 1671 - 1749 | |
| [SEE CHART #2] (COFFIN) → | MARY (COFFIN) PINKHAM 1668 - 1741 + 1720 (IV) | | |
| | MIRIAM GARDNER 1666 - 1702 + 1684 | MARY GARDNER 1685 - 1761 + 1706 — 7 CHILDREN | |
| [SEE CHART #1] (WORTH) → | ORMN WORTH 1665 - 1731 | MATTHEW JENKINS 1681 - 1758 | |
| [SEE CHART #5] → | NATHANIEL GARDNER 1659 - 1714 + 1686 | | |
| [SEE CHART #2] (COFFIN) → | ABIGAIL COFFIN 1667 - 1709 | ABIEL GARDNER 1691 - 1756 + 1719 — 8 CHILDREN | |
| [SEE CHART #2] (COFFIN) → | HOPE GARDNER 1669 - 1750 + 1692 | WILLIAM CLASBY 1690 - 1779 | |
| | JOHN COFFIN 1672 - 1747 | | |
| [SEE CHART #2] (COFFIN) → | LOVE GARDNER 1672 - 1691 + 1686 | | |
| | JAMES COFFIN JR. 1664 - 1741 | | |
| | (9) | (6) | (29) |

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| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| RICHARD GARDNER JR. | 1706 - 1728 |
| [NATHANIEL GARDNER] | 1708 - 1714 |
| TOTALS | |

GARDNER FAMILY | CHART #3

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | JOSEPH GARDNER 1677 - 1747 + 1705 | 7 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #3] (COFFIN) → | RUTH COFFIN 1685 - 1748 | |
| | | SOLOMAN GARDNER 1680 - 1760 + 1705 | 10 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #11] (COFFIN) → | ANNA COFFIN 1685 - 1740 | |
| | | BENJAMIN GARDNER 1682 - 1764 + 1703 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #2] ↓ [SEE CHART #7] (COFFIN) → | HANNAH COFFIN 1679 - 1769 | |
| | RICHARD GARDNER JR 1653 - 1728 + 1674 | MARIAM GARDNER 1685 - 1760 + 1705 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | MARY AUSTIN 1655 - 1721 [SEE CHART #7] (COFFIN) → | SAMUEL COFFIN 1683 - 1763 | |
| | | PETER GARDNER 1684 - 1763 + 1708 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #7] (COFFIN) → | ELIZABETH COFFIN 1689 - 1778 | |
| | | LYDIA GARDNER 1687 - 1788 + 1705 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | | JOHN COFFIN 1687 - 1768 | |
| | | RICHARD GARDNER III 1689 - 1724 + 1719 | |
| | | ABIAH FOLGER 1701 - ? | |
| | | WILLIAM GARDNER 1691 - 1739 + 1715 | |
| | | HEPHZIBAH (GARDNER) GARDNER 1696 - 1742 | |

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV JOSEPH GARDNER | 1728 - 1747 |
| IV SOLOMAN GARDNER | 1747 - 1760 |
| IV BENJAMIN GARDNER | 1760 - 1764 |
| TOTALS | |

(8) (41)

GARDNER FAMILY — CHART #4

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | ELIZABETH GARDNER 1691 - 1763 + 1704 — 10 CHILDREN | |
| | | STEPHEN GORHAM 1685 - 1770 | |
| | | SAMUEL GARDNER 1698 - 1757 + 1707 (I) | |
| | [SEE CHART #11] → (COFFIN) | HEPHZIBAH COFFIN 1698 - 1768 | |
| | [SEE CHART #1] → (SWAIN) | PATIENCE SWAIN 1695 - 1776 + 1710 (II) — 5 CHILDREN | |
| | | MARY (SWETT) SWAIN 1689 - 1754 + 1748 (II) | |
| | [SEE CHART #2] ↓ | JETHRO GARDNER 1695 - 1754 + 1716 — 7 CHILDREN | |
| | JAMES GARDNER 1664 - 1723 + 1691 (I) | KEZIA FOLGER 1699 - 1774 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] → (STARBUCK) | MARY STARBUCK 1665 - 1699 | BARNABAS GARDNER 1695 - 1769 + 1718 — 10 CHILDREN | |
| | RACHEL (GARDNER) BROWN 1671 - 1709 + 1699 (II) | MARY TURNER 1699 - 1789 | |
| | PATIENCE HARKER 1686 - 1718 + 1710 (III) | JONATHAN GARDNER 1696 - 1777 + 1723 — 10 CHILDREN | |
| [SEE CHART #2] → (COFFIN) | MARY (COFFIN) PINKHAM 1663 - 1702 + 1684 (IV) | PATIENCE BUNKER 1705 - 1794 | |
| | | MEHITABLE GARDNER 1699 - 1777 + 1724 — 4 CHILDREN | |
| | | PHILIP PELHAM 1695 - 1764 | |
| | | [SEE CHART #5] → JAMES GARDNER, JR. 1703 - 1776 + 1724 — 7 CHILDREN | |
| | | SUSANNAH GARDNER 1706 - 1781 | |

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| HEADS OF FAMILY | |
|---|---|
| IV SAMUEL GARDNER | 1728 - 1757 |
| IV BARNABAS GARDNER | 1757 - 1768 |
| IV JONATHAN GARDNER | 1768 - 1777 |
| TOTALS | |

(8) (53)

GARDNER FAMILY — CHART #5

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | HANNAH GARDNER 1674-1743 + 1706 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | | JABEZ BUNKER 1678-17?? | |
| | | EBENEZER GARDNER 1688-1763 + 1709 (I) | 4 CHILDREN |
| | | EUNICE COFFIN 1693-1718 | |
| | | JUDITH COFFIN 1700-1777 + 1719 (II) | 7 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #2] ↓ | PELEG GARDNER 1691-1748 + 1714 | |
| | NATHANIEL GARDNER 1669-1714 + 1686 | HANNAH BARNARD 1696-1742 | |
| [SEE CHART #2] → (COFFIN) | ABIGAIL COFFIN 1667-1709 | JUDITH GARDNER 1695-1765 + 1711 | 11 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #1] → (BARNARD) | BENJAMIN BARNARD 1691-1723 | |
| | | MARGARET GARDNER 1695-1773 + 1717 | 5 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #2] → (FOLGER) | JONATHAN FOLGER 1696-1777 | |
| | | NATHANIEL GARDNER JR 1697-1757 + 1725 | 2 CHILDREN |
| | | MARY FOLGER 1705-1763 | |
| | | ANDREW GARDNER 1699-1782 + 1721 | 12 CHILDREN |
| | | MARY GORHAM 1704-1760 | |
| | | ABEL GARDNER 1702-1771 + 1723 | 12 CHILDREN |
| | | PRISCILLA COFFIN 1705-1792 | |
| | | SUSANNAH GARDNER 1700-1781 + 1724 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #5] → | JAMES GARDNER 1705-1776 | |
| | | (9) | (65) |

270

HEADS OF FAMILY

| | |
|---|---|
| II EBENEZER GARDNER | 1728-1763 |
| [NATHANIEL GARDNER JR] | 1728-1787 |
| ANDREW GARDNER | 1763-1782 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | (271) |

| Hussey Family | Chart #1 I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Puella Hussey<br>1677 - 1765 + 1695<br>Shubael Gorham<br>1675 - 1760 | Obed Hussey<br>1713 - 1790 + 1730 (I)<br>Margaret Wilson<br>1716 - 1746<br>Mary Calef<br>1728 - 1815 + 1748 (II) | |
| | | | Abigail Hussey<br>1679 - 1763 + 1700 (I)<br>Thomas Howes Jr<br>1675 - 1700<br>Joseph Marshall<br>1672 - 1742 + 1712 (II) | Daniel Hussey<br>1713 - 1750 + 1735 | 5 children |
| Christopher Hussey<br>1600 - 1670 | + 1625 | Stephen Hussey<br>1630 - 1718 + 1675 | [See chart #1] → (Starbuck)<br>Silvanus Hussey<br>1685 - 1767 | Sarah Gorham<br>1711 - 1748 | |
| Theodate Batchellor<br>1605 - 1675 | [See chart #1] → (Bunker) | Martha Bunker<br>1656 - 1644 | Abial Brown<br>1692 - 1722 + 1712 (I)<br>Hephzibah Starbuck<br>1700 - 1764 + 1723 (II) | Rachel Hussey<br>1715 - ? + 1733 | 11 children |
| | | | Batchellor Hussey<br>1684 - 1760 + 1704<br>Abigail Hall<br>1680 - 1756 | Barnabas Coleman<br>1708 - 1780 | |
| | | [See chart #1] → (Barnard) | Mary Hussey<br>1689 - 1771 + 1707 (I) | Jonathan Hussey<br>1718 - ? + 1739 | |
| | | [See chart #1] → (Worth) | Jonathan Worth<br>1685 - 1719<br>Ebenezer Barnard<br>1684 - 1767 + 1722 (II) | Hephzibah Starbuck<br>1721 - ? | |
| | | [See chart #1] → (Starbuck) | George Hussey<br>1694 - 1782 + 1717<br>Elizabeth Starbuck<br>1698 - 1770 | Seth Hussey<br>1722 - 1756 + 1742 | 4 children |
| | | | Theodate Hussey<br>1700 - 1744 + 1726<br>James Johnson<br>1700 - ? | Sarah Jenkins<br>1723 - 1803 | |
| II Stephen Hussey | 1673 - 1718 | | | | |
| III Silvanus Hussey | 1718 - 1767 | | | | |
| III George Hussey | 1767 - 1782 | | | | |
| IV Obed Hussey | 1782 - 1790 | | | | |
| Totals | 1 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 20 |

HUSSEY FAMILY | CHART #2

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [SEE CHART #1] → SILVANUS HUSSEY 1685 - 1767 + 1723 | CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY 1724 - 1785 + 1743 | |
| | | MARY COFFIN 1726 - 1796 | |
| | | WILLIAM HUSSEY 1725 - 1805 + 1746 — 9 CHILDREN | |
| | | ABIGAIL STARBUCK 1728 - 1811 | |
| | | BATHSHEBA HUSSEY 1728 - 1805 + 1748 — 9 CHILDREN | |
| | | ANNA COFFIN 1727 - 1809 | |
| | HEPHZIBAH STARBUCK 1700 - 1744 | HEPHZIBAH HUSSEY 1732 - 1815 + 1748 | |
| | | NATHANIEL COLEMAN 1724 - 1807 | |
| | | NATHANIEL HUSSEY 1731 - 1769 + 1760 — 10 CHILDREN | |
| | | JUDITH COFFIN 1732 - 1821 | |
| | | SILVANUS HUSSEY 1734 - 1795 + 1756 | |
| | | ALICE CRAY 1738 - 1765 | |
| | | GEORGE HUSSEY 1738 - 1804 + 1767 — 8 CHILDREN | |
| | | DEBORAH PADDOCK 1739 - 1815 | |
| | | JOSEPH HUSSEY 1740 - 1799 | |

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| HEAD OF FAMILY | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV WILLIAM HUSSEY | 1788 - 1805 |
| TOTALS | |

(8) (36)

HUSSEY FAMILY — CHART #3

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [SEE CHART #1] | MARY HUSSEY 1706 - 1758 + 1730 | |
| | | PELEG SWAIN 1709 - 1789 | |
| | BATCHELDER HUSSEY 1684 - 1760 + 1704 | JEDIDAH HUSSEY 1708 - 1759 + 1726 | 12 CHILDREN |
| | ABIGAIL HALL 1680 - 1756 | BENJAMIN COFFIN 1708 - 1780 | |
| | | JOHN HUSSEY 1710 - 1749 + 1734 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | | JEDIDAH COFFIN 1715 - 1799 | |
| | | STEPHEN HUSSEY 1713 - ? | |
| | | HULDAH HUSSEY 1715 - 1798 + 1734 | 2 CHILDREN |
| | | SIMEON BUNKER 1696 - 1751 | |
| | | EBENEZER HUSSEY 1717 - ? | |
| | | PAUL HUSSEY 1720 - ? | |
| | | SILVANUS HUSSEY 1722 - ? | |
| TOTALS | | (8) | (22) |

273

HUSSEY FAMILY — CHART #4

274

| HEAD OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV JETHRO HUSSEY | 1782 – 1809 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | (147) |

II

III

[SEE CHART #3]

GEORGE HUSSEY
1694 – 1782 + 1717
ELIZABETH STARBUCK
1698 – 1776

IV

- DEBORAH HUSSEY
  1721 – 1785 + 1738 — 2 CHILDREN
  PETER COFFIN
  1718 – 1800
- REUBEN HUSSEY
  1723 – ? + 1744
  ELIZABETH WOODBURY
  1727 – ?
- LYDIA HUSSEY
  1725 – ? + 1742
  CLOTHIER PIERCE JR.
  1720 – ?
- DINAH HUSSEY
  1727 – 1763 + 1745 — 6 CHILDREN
  REUBEN FOLGER
  1722 – 1808
- RUTH HUSSEY
  1728 – 1827 + 174[illegible] — 8 CHILDREN
  NATHANIEL CARDNER III
  1726 – 1796
- ELIZABETH HUSSEY
  1731 – ? + 1749 — 3 CHILDREN
  PELEG COFFIN
  1728 – 1756
- MARTHA HUSSEY
  1733 – 1799 + 1751 — 10 CHILDREN
  DAVID SWAIN
  1731 – 1782
- JETHRO HUSSEY
  1738 – 1809 + 1766
  MARGARET COFFIN
  1752 – 1792
- THOMAS HUSSEY
  1740 – 1756
- PAUL HUSSEY
  1741 – 1793 + 1765
  MARGARET BARNEY
  1747 – ?

(10)

V

(29)

# STARBUCK FAMILY

## "FIRST FAMILY"

CHART #1

I

EDWARD STARBUCK
1604 - 1690
+ 1650
KATHARINE REYNOLDS
1610 - 1655

SAME ★

[SEE CHART #3] →
(COFFIN)

SAME ★

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| I EDWARD STARBUCK | 1661 - 1690 |
| II NATHANIEL STARBUCK | 1690 - 1719 |
| III NATHANIEL STARBUCK JR. | 1719 - 1753 |
| IV [PAUL STARBUCK] | 1753 - 1759 |
| III JETHRO STARBUCK | 1753 - 1770 |
| II TRISTRAM STARBUCK | 1770 - 1789 |
| TOTALS | (1) |

II

[SEE CHART #4] →
(GARDNER)

SARAH STARBUCK
1652 - 1720 + 1640 (I)

WILLIAM STORY
1630 - 1645

JOSEPH AUSTIN + 1652 (II)
1630 - 1670

HUMPHREY VARNEY
1611 - 1675 + 1712 (III)

NATHANIEL STARBUCK
1656 - 1729 + 1662

MARY COFFIN ← [SEE CHART #1]
1645 - 1711 (COFFIN)

DORCAS STARBUCK
1659 - 1696 + 1672

WILLIAM GAYER
1635 - 1710

ABIGAIL STARBUCK
1645 - 1710 + 1665

PETER COFFIN
1659 - 1695

ESTHER STARBUCK
1668 - 1700 + 1665

HUMPHREY VARNEY
1670 - 1710

(5)

III

[SEE CHART #2] →
(FOLGER)

MARY STARBUCK
1663 - 1699 + 1691

JAMES GARDNER [SEE CHART #1]
1664 - 1723 (COFFIN)

ELIZABETH STARBUCK
1665 - 1706 + 1682 (I)

PETER COFFIN JR.
1650 - 1699

NATHANIEL BARNARD JR
1672 - 1731 + 1700 (II)

NATHANIEL STARBUCK JR.
1668 - 1763 + 1690

DINAH COFFIN ← [SEE CHART #2]
1674 - 1760 (COFFIN)

JETHRO STARBUCK ← [SEE CHART #2]
1671 - 1770 + 1694

DORCAS GAYER
1675 - 1747

EUNICE STARBUCK
1674 - 1766 + 1695

GEORGE GARDNER ← [SEE CHART #1]
1666 - 1750 (GARDNER)

BARNABAS STARBUCK
1673 - 1733

PRISCILLA STARBUCK
1676 - 1762 + 1693

ROLAN COLEMAN JR ← [SEE CHART #3]
1667 - 1742 (COLEMAN)

HEPHZIBAH STARBUCK
1680 - 1740 + 1696

THOMAS HATHAWAY
1680 - 1739

(9)

IV

MARY STARBUCK
1693 - 1763 + 1710 — 9 CHILDREN

JETHRO FOLGER
1689 - 1722

PAUL STARBUCK
1694 - 1759 + 1718 (I) — 9 CHILDREN

ANN TIBBETTS
1702 - 1756

KEZIA (FOLGER) GARDNER
1679 - 1749 + 1737 (II)

ELIZABETH (STRATTON) COFFIN
1712 - 1780 + 1751 (III) + 1 CHILD

PRISCILLA STARBUCK
1696 - 1768 + 1717

SHUBAEL COFFIN
1694 - 1737

ELIZABETH STARBUCK
1698 - 1770 + 1712 — 15 CHILDREN

GEORGE HUSSEY ← SEE CHART #1
1694 - 1782 (HUSSEY)

HEPHZIBAH STARBUCK
1700 - 1764 + 1723 — 9 CHILDREN

SILVANUS HUSSEY ← [SEE CHART #1]
1682 - 1767 (HUSSEY)

ABIGAIL STARBUCK
1704 - 1717 + 1723 — 2 CHILDREN

THOMAS HOWES III
1701 - 1759

JOHN WAY
1722 - 1760 + 1741

BENJAMIN STARBUCK
1707 - 1731 + 1730 — 1 CHILD

DINAH COFFIN
1718 - 1793

TRISTRAM STARBUCK
1709 - 1789 + 1729 — 5 CHILDREN

DEBORAH COFFIN
1708 - 1789

RUTH STARBUCK
1714 - 1772 + 1731 — 11 CHILDREN

JOHN RUSSELL
1712 - 1789

ANNA STARBUCK
1716 - 1785 + 1734 — 9 CHILDREN

PETER BARNARD
1715 - 1763

(10)

V

(71)

| Starbuck Family | Chart #2 | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Sarah Starbuck<br>1692 - 1789 + 1712 | 9 children |
| | | | [See chart #1] → (Macy) | Jabez Macy<br>1688 - 1776 | |
| | | | | William Starbuck<br>1699 - 1760 + 1720 (I) | 5 children |
| | | | | Anna Folger<br>1703 - 1748 | |
| | | | [See chart #1] ↓ | Lydia Coleman<br>1717 - 1813 + 1751 (II) | 1 child |
| | | | Jethro Starbuck<br>1671 - 1770 + 1694 | Eunice Starbuck<br>1701 - 1758 + 1724 | |
| | | | Dorcas Cayer<br>1675 - 1747 | Daniel Pinkham<br>1697 - 1770 | |
| | | | | Lydia Starbuck<br>1704 - 1751 + 1722 | 6 children |
| | | | | Benjamin Barney<br>1697 - 1783 | |
| | | | | Thomas Starbuck<br>1706 - 1777 + 1726 | 7 children |
| | | | | Rachel Allen<br>1709 - 1789 | |
| | | | | Jemima Starbuck<br>1712 - + 1728 | 8 children |
| | | | | Silvanus Allen<br>1706 - 1785 | |
| | | | | Mary Starbuck<br>1715 - 1780 + 1731 | 11 children |
| | | | | Richard Mitchell<br>1715 - 1787 | |
| Head of | Family | | | | |
| IV Thomas Starbuck | 1770 - 1777 | | | | |
| Totals | | | | 7 | 51 |
| Grand Total | 154 | | | | |

276

COLEMAN FAMILY — CHART #1

| I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | TOBIAS COLEMAN 1638 - ? + 1668 | ANNE COLEMAN 1679 - 1739 + 1695 | | |
| | LYDIA ? 1640 - ? | EDWARD ALLEN 1675 - 1741 | NATHANIEL COLEMAN 1697 - 1783 + 1729 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | JOSEPH COLEMAN 1642 - 1690 + 1672 | | MARY (FOLGER) GARDNER 1705 - 1763 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | ANNE BUNKER [SEE CHART #2] (STARBUCK) 1654 - 1675 | JOHN COLEMAN JR. 1667 - 1762 + 1695 | ELIHU COLEMAN 1699 - 1789 + 1720 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | | PRISCILLA STARBUCK 1676 - 1762 | JEMIMA BARNARD 1699 - 1779 | |
| | [SEE CHART #2] → | THOMAS COLEMAN 1669 - 1755 + 1695 | JETHRO COLEMAN 1706 - 1785 + 1731 (I) | 5 CHILDREN |
| | | JANE (CHILDS) CHALLENGE 1675 - 1736 | LYDIA PADDOCK 1715 - 174? | |
| | | ISAAC COLEMAN 1671 - 1752 + 1696 | LYDIA MACY 1726 - 1785 + 1748 (II) | 6 CHILDREN |
| THOMAS COLEMAN 1602-1682 + 1637 (I) | JOHN COLEMAN 1644 - 1715 + 1665 | JANE REYNOLDS [SEE CHART #1] (BUNKER) 1675 - 1744 | BARNABAS COLEMAN 1706 - 1785 + 1728 (I) | 1 CHILD |
| SUSANNAH ? 1605 - 1650 | JOANNA FOLGER ← [SEE CHART #1] (FOLGER) 1645 - 1690 | JANE (BUNKER) WATSON ← 1671 - 1752 + 1744 | ELIZABETH BARNARD 1710 - 1729 | |
| MARY (?) JOHNSON 1605 - 1663 + 1651 (II) | | PHEBE COLEMAN 1674 - 1719 + 1692 | RACHEL HUSSEY 1718 - ? + 1732 (II) | 11 CHILDREN |
| MARGERY (FOWLER) OSGOOD - ROWLEY 1610 - 1675 + 1664 (III) | | GERSHOM CATHCART 1670 - 1720 | PHEBE COLEMAN 1711 - 1791 + 1730 | 11 CHILDREN |
| | | ABIGAIL COLEMAN 1676 - 1730 + 1695 | BARZILLAI FOLGER 1710 - 1790 | |
| | ISAAC COLEMAN 1647 - 1669 | JAMES TISDALE 1675 - 1725 | PRISCILLA BUNKER 1715 - 1797 + 1731 | 11 CHILDREN |
| | | BENJAMIN COLEMAN 1676 - 1720 | SAMUEL BUNKER 1711 - 1792 | |
| | [SEE CHART #2] → | JEREMIAH COLEMAN 1678 - 1739 + 1714 | JOHN COLEMAN III 1715 - 1805 + 1738 | |
| | | SARAH PRATT 1682 - 1762 | RUTH PINKHAM 1716 - 1790 | |
| | | | MARY COLEMAN 1718 - 1767 + 1741 | 4 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #3] → | SOLOMAN COLEMAN 1685 - 1772 + 1711 (I) | WILLIAM RUSSELL 1717 - 1782 | |
| | | MARY MACY 1685 - 1715 | | |
| | | DELIVERANCE SWETT 1693 - 1790 + 1718 (II) | | |

| HEADS OF FAMILY | |
|---|---|
| I THOMAS COLEMAN | 1675 - 1682 |
| II JOHN COLEMAN | 1664 - 1675<br>1682 - 1715 |
| III JOHN COLEMAN JR. | 1715 - 1762 |
| III SOLOMAN COLEMAN | 1762 - 1772 |
| IV NATHANIEL COLEMAN | 1772 - 1783 |
| IV ELIHU COLEMAN | 1783 - 1789 |
| IV JOHN COLEMAN III | 1789 - 1805 |
| TOTALS | (1) |

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2) | (8) | (8) | (70) |

(1)

COLEMAN FAMILY — CHART #2

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | JOSEPH COLEMAN<br>1699 - 1756 + 1725 — 4 CHILDREN<br>RACHEL NORTON<br>1705 - 1767 | |
| | [SEE CHART #1]<br>↓<br>THOMAS COLEMAN<br>1669 - 1753 + 1695 —<br>JANE (CHILDS) CHALLENCE<br>1678 - 1736 | BENJAMIN COLEMAN<br>1703 - 1793 + 1726 — 1 CHILD<br>HULDAH SWETT<br>1705 - 1792 | |
| | | EBENEZER COLEMAN<br>1707 - 1734 +1721<br>SARAH SMITH<br>17?? - 1804 | |
| | | JONATHAN COLEMAN<br>1712 - 1789 + 1734<br>MEHITABLE DAVIS<br>1712 - 1789 | |
| | [SEE CHART #1]<br>↓<br>JEREMIAH COLEMAN<br>1678 - 1739 + 1714 —<br>SARAH PRATT<br>1682 - 1762 | PETER COLEMAN<br>1716 - 1788 + 1760<br>SUSANNAH UPHAM<br>1721 - 1752 | |
| | | LYDIA COLEMAN<br>1717 - 1813 + 1738 — 1 CHILD<br>WILLIAM STARBUCK<br>1699 - 1760 | |
| | | THEOPHILUS PINKHAM<br>1705 - 1782 + 1741 | |
| | | SILVANUS COLEMAN<br>1720 - 1786 | |
| | | JOANNA COLEMAN<br>1722 - ? + 1750<br>ELEAZER CLARK<br>1720 - ? | |
| | | ENOCH COLEMAN<br>1725 - 1799 + 1748 — 5 CHILDREN<br>MARY MERICK<br>1731 - 1815 | |
| | | (4) | (5) |
| | | (5) | (6) |

278

| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| II BENJAMIN COLEMAN | 1772 - 1793 |
| III PETER COLEMAN | 1772 - 1793 |
| IV ENOCH COLEMAN | 1793 - 1799 |
| TOTALS | |

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| Coleman Family | Chart #3 | I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Abigail Coleman 1711 - 1787 + 1737 | 6 Children |
| | | | | | Zephaniah Coffin 1699 - 1774 | |
| | | | | | Daniel Coleman 1719 - 1804 + 1741 | |
| | | | | | Elizabeth Moders 1723 - 1804 | |
| | | | | [See Chart #1] | Elizabeth Coleman 1722 - ? + 1746 | 5 Children |
| | | | | Soloman Coleman 1685 - 1772 + 1711 (I) | Jonathan Gwinn 1723 - ? | |
| | | | [See Chart #1] (Maly) → | Mary Maly 1685 - 1715 | Christopher Coleman 1723 - 1795 + 1748 | 9 Children |
| | | | | Deliverance Swett 1698 - 1790 + 1718 (II) | Priscilla Coffin 1730 - 1801 | |
| | | | | | Peleg Coleman 1725 - 1808 + 1731 | 2 Children |
| | | | | | Mary (Folger) Worth 1728 - 1815 | |
| | | | | | Hephzibah Coleman 1727 - 1820 | |
| | | | | | George Coleman 1730 - 1800 + 1750 | 8 Children |
| | | | | | Eunice Folger 1724 - 1782 | |
| | | | | | Francis Coleman 1732 - 1821 + 1760 | 7 Children |
| | | | | | Abigail Bunker 1732 - 1812 | |
| | | | | | Soloman Coleman Jr 1735 - 1828 + 1755 | 5 Children |
| | | | | | Mehitable Gardner 1738 - 1796 | |
| | | | | | (9) | (40) |

| Heads of | Family |
|---|---|
| IV Daniel Coleman | 1772 - 1804 |
| IV Peleg Coleman | 1804 - 1808 |
| IV Francis Coleman | 1808 - 1821 |
| IV Soloman Coleman Jr. | 1821 - 1828 |
| Totals | |
| Grand Total | (158) |

| Coffin Family | Chart #1 | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I | | [Also five children who emigrated] | [Also three children who emigrated] | |
| | | | | Abigail Coffin 1683 - 1736 + 1701 | 4 children |
| | | | | Jedidiah Fitch 1680 - 1756 | |
| | [See chart #1] → (Starbuck) | Peter Coffin 1632 - 1695 + 1655 | [See chart #1] (Starbuck) | Tristram Coffin 1685 - 1730 + 1706 | |
| | | Abigail Starbuck 1645 - 1715 | Peter Coffin Jr 1660 - 1699 + 1682 | Hannah Brown 1686 - 1731 | |
| | | Tristram Coffin Jr 1635 - 1700 + 1655 | Elizabeth Starbuck 1665 - 1706 ↑ | Eunice Coffin 1693 - 1718 + 1709 | 4 children |
| | | ? Somersby 1635 - 1700 | [See chart #1] (Barnard) | Ebenezer Gardner 1688 - 1763 | |
| | | Elizabeth Coffin 1638 - 1710 + 1655 | | Jemima Coffin 1695 - 1766 + 1727 | 3 children |
| Tristram Coffin | | Stephen Greenleaf 1635 - 1700 | | William Swain 1695 - 1770 | |
| 1604 - 1682 + 1630 | | | | | |
| Dionis Stevens 1605 - 1660 | | James Coffin ← [See chart #2] 1640 - 1720 + 1663 | | John Coffin 1687 - 1768 + 1705 | 8 children |
| | | Mary Severance 1645 - 1695 | | Lydia Gardner 1687 - 1788 | |
| | [See chart #1] → (Starbuck) | Mary Coffin 1645 - 1717 + 1662 | [See chart #1] (Gardner) ↓ | Priscilla Coffin 1691 - 1772 + 1710 | 1 child |
| | | Nathaniel Starbuck 1636 - 1719 | Jethro Coffin 1663 - 1726 + 1686 | John Gardner 1690 - 1759 | |
| | [See chart #7] → | John Coffin 1647 - 1711 + 1668 | Mary Gardner 1670 - 1767 | Josiah Coffin 1698 - 1780 + 1720 | 6 children |
| | | Deborah Austin 1652 - 1718 | | Elizabeth Coffin 1703 - 1774 | |
| | | Stephen Coffin ← [See chart #11] 1652 - 1734 + 1668 | | Abigail Coffin 1700 - 1770 + 1725 | 5 children |
| | | Mary Bunker 1652 - 1724 | | Nathaniel Woodbury 1700 - 1741 | |
| | | | | Robert Coffin 1712 - 1727 + 1725 (I) | |
| | | | | Parnel Coffin 1712 - 1727 | |
| | | | | Susannah Coffin 1712 - ? + 1726 (II) | 10 children |
| | | | | (4) | (11) |
| | | (7) | (2) | (5) | (29) |

| Heads of Family | |
|---|---|
| I Tristram Coffin | 1661 - 1682 |
| II Peter Coffin | 1682 - 1685 |
| III James Coffin | 1685 - 1720 |
| II Stephen Coffin | 1720 - 1734 |
| IV John Coffin | 1734 - 1768 |
| IV Josiah Coffin | 1768 - 1780 |
| Totals | |
| | (1) |

COFFIN CHART

*1 SPECIAL

280 A

IV

III

IV

V

ABIGAIL COFFIN
1657 - 1710 + ?
DANIEL DAVIDSON
? ?

TRISTRAM COFFIN
1665 - 1700 + ?
DEBORAH COLCORD
? ?

ROBERT COFFIN
1667 - 1705 + ?
JOANNA DYER
? ?

NATHANIEL COFFIN
1688 - 1745 + ?
? ?
? ?

SAMUEL COFFIN
1689 - 1750 + ?
? ?
? ?

EDWARD COFFIN
1669 - 1710 + 1690
ANNA GARDNER
1667 - 1745
[SEE CHART #1] → (GARDNER

ELIZABETH COFFIN
1680 - 1740 + ?
JOHN GILMAN
? ?
[SEE CHART #1]

BARNABAS COFFIN
1690 - 1755 + ?
? ?
? ?
SEE CHART #1]

# COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #2

| Heads of | Family |
|---|---|
| III James Coffin Jr | 1734 - 1741 |
| III John Coffin | 1741 - 1747 |
| [SEE CHART #3] | |
| IV James Coffin III | 1771 - 1788 |
| IV Benjamin Coffin | 1788 - 1793 |
| Totals | |

II

[SEE CHART #1]

JAMES COFFIN
1640 - 1720 + 1668
MARY SEVERANCE
1645 - 1695

[SEE CHART #2] (CARDNER)
[SEE CHART #1] (CARDNER)

III

[SEE CHART #2] (CARDNER)

MARY COFFIN
1663 - 1741 + 1683 (II)

RICHARD PINKHAM
1660 - 1718 [SEE CHART #4]
JAMES CARDNER (CARDNER)
1664 - 1723 + 1720 (II)
JAMES COFFIN JR
1664 - 1741 + 1688 (I)
LOVE CARDNER
1672 - 1691
RUTH CARDNER
1676 - 1748 + 1692 (II)

ABIGAIL COFFIN
1667 - 1709 + 1685
[SEE CHART #6] → NATHANIEL CARDNER (CARDNER)
1661 - 1724
[SEE CHART #3] → NATHANIEL COFFIN
1671 - 1721 + 1692
DAMARIS GAYER
1673 - 1764

[SEE CHART #3] → JOHN COFFIN
1672 - 1747 + 1692
[SEE CHART #2] → HOPE CARDNER (CARDNER)
1669 - 1750
DINAH COFFIN
1674 - 1750 + 1690
[SEE CHART #1] → NATHANIEL STARBUCK (STARBUCK)
1668 - 1753
[SEE NEXT PAGE]

(6)

IV

GEORGE COFFIN
1699 - 1727 + 1695
RUTH SWAIN
1695 - 1775
SARAH COFFIN
1695 - 1781 + 1711 — 7 CHILDREN
JEREMIAH CARDNER
1691 - 1768
NATHAN COFFIN
1696 - 1768 + 1717 — 10 CHILDREN

LYDIA BUNKER
1700 - 1785
ELISHA COFFIN
1699 - 1732 + 1721 — 1 CHILD
DINAH BUNKER
1705 - 1778
JOSHUA COFFIN
1701 - 1725 + 1721 — 1 CHILD

PRISCILLA BUNKER
1708 - 1795
ELIZABETH COFFIN
1708 - 1774 + 1726 — 6 CHILDREN
JOSIAH COFFIN
1698 - 1780
PRISCILLA COFFIN
1708 - 1792 + 1714 — 12 CHILDREN
ABEL CARDNER
1702 - 1771

MARY COFFIN
1710 - 1786 + 1725 — 6 CHILDREN
JOHN BUNKER
1697 - 1760
JAMES COFFIN III
1713 - 1784 + 1734 — 8 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA RAWSON
1715 - 1791

RUTH COFFIN
1716 - 1801 + 1731
CROMWELL COFFIN
1709 - 1783
BENJAMIN COFFIN
1738 - 1793 + 1738 — 6 CHILDREN
REBECCA COFFIN
1721 - 1714

(11)

V

3 CHILDREN

(54)

282
~~382~~

# COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #3

| Heads of Families | |
|---|---|
| III EBENEEZER COFFIN | 1747 - 1769 |
| III JONATHAN COFFIN | 1769 - 1771 |
| IV BENJAMIN COFFIN | 1771 - 1780 |
| IV NATHANIEL COFFIN | 1780 - 1800 |
| IV FRANCIS COFFIN | 1771 - 1787 |
| TOTALS | |

| II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [SEE PREVIOUS PAGE] | [SIX OTHER CHILDREN WHO MARRIED OFF ISLAND] | |
| | DEBORAH COFFIN 1677 - 1767 + 1695 | | |
| [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | GEORGE BUNKER 1671 - 1743 | BENJAMIN COFFIN 1705 - 1780 + 1726 | 12 CHILDREN |
| [SEE CHART #4] → | EBENEEZER COFFIN 1681 - 1769 + 1700 | JEDIDAH HUSSEY 1708 - 1759 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] → (BARNARD) | ELEANOR BARNARD 1679 - 1769 | DEBORAH MACY 1726 - ? + 1762 | 2 CHILDREN |
| [SEE CHART #5] → | JOSEPH COFFIN 1681 - 1719 + 1704 | NATHANIEL COFFIN JR. 1711 - 1800 + 1735 | 10 CHILDREN |
| | BETHIAH MACY 1683 - 1738 | MARY SHEFFIELD 1715 - 1778 | |
| | ELIZABETH COFFIN 1681 - 1769 + 1694 (I) | KATHARINE COFFIN 1715 - 1798 + 1736 | |
| [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | JONATHAN BUNKER 1676 - 1721 | BETHUEL CARDNER 1708 - 1787 | |
| | THOMAS CLARK 1665 - 1740 + 1723 (II) | | |
| | RUTH COFFIN 1685 - 1748 + 1705 | RICHARD COFFIN 1694 - 1768 + 1718 | 12 CHILDREN |
| [SEE CHART #3] → (CARDNER) | JOSEPH CARDNER 1677 - 1747 | RUTH BUNKER 1702 - 1779 | |
| [SEE CHART #6] → | JONATHAN COFFIN 1692 - 1771 + 1711 | JUDITH COFFIN 1700 - 1783 + 1719 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | HEPHZIBAH HARKER 1694 - 1773 | EBENEEZER GARDNER 1688 - 1763 | |
| | [SEE CHART #2] ↓ | ELIAS COFFIN 1702 - 1773 + 1728 | 6 CHILDREN |
| | NATHANIEL COFFIN 1671 - 1721 + 1692 | LOVE COFFIN 1708 - 1782 | |
| | DAMARIS GAYER 1678 - 1764 | FRANCIS COFFIN 1706 - 1787 + 1727 | 3 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #2] | THEODATE GORHAM 1708 - 1787 | |
| | JOHN COFFIN 1672 - 1747 + 1692 [SEE CHART #2] → (FOLGER) | ABIGAIL COFFIN 1708 - 1770 + 1728 | 9 CHILDREN |
| | HOPE CARDNER 1669 - 1750 | ZACCHEUS FOLGER 1706 - 1779 | |
| | 6 | 3 | 24 |
| | | 5 | 38 |

COFFIN CHART #2 SPECIAL

II III IV V

282 A

DORCAS COFFIN
1693 - 1778 + ?
JOHN SOLEY
1690 - ?

CHRISTIAN COFFIN
1695 - 1760 + ?
JOHN EDWARDS
1695 - ?

LYDIA COFFIN
1697 - 1749 + 1714
JOSEPH CHASE
1689 - 1749

WILLIAM COFFIN
1699 - 1774 + 1722
ANN HOLMES
1700 - ?

CHARLES COFFIN
1702 - 1772 + 1722
MARY BARRATT
1705 - ?

GAYER COFFIN
1709 - 1775 + ?
REBECCA PARKER
1710 - 1777

(SEE CHART # 2)

COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #4

II — III — IV

PRINCE COFFIN
1703 - 1729 +1725 — 1 CHILD
MERCY SKIFFE
1701 - 178?

LOVE COFFIN
1705 - 1782 +1728 — 6 CHILDREN
ELIAS COFFIN
1702 - 1773
CROMWELL COFFIN
1709 - 1783 +1731
RUTH COFFIN
1716 - 1801

USE CHART #3

EBENEZER COFFIN
1681 - 1769 +1700
ELEANOR BARNARD
1679 - 1769

JANE COFFIN
1712 - 1778 +1729
WILLIAM BUNKER
1710 - 1746
ALEXANDER COFFIN
1713 - 1741 +173 — 1 CHILD
JUDITH BUNKER
1708 - ?
VALENTINE COFFIN
1714 - 1782

KIMBALL COFFIN
1721 - 1782
JOSEPH COFFIN
1719 - 1805 +1740
JUDITH COFFIN
1722 - 1812
BENJAMIN COFFIN
1720 - 1793 +173

REBECCA COFFIN
1721 - 1764

TOTALS — (9) — (8)

283

COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #5

III — III — IV — V

MICAH COFFIN
1756 - 1788 + 1726 ——— 1 CHILD
DORCAS COLEMAN
1705 - 1780

EUNICE COFFIN
1707 - 1760 + 1726
ANDREW NEWELL
1705 - ?
ZACCHEUS COFFIN
1710 - 1797 + 1731 ——— 8 CHILDREN
MARY PINKHAM
1713 - 1795

[SEE CHART #3]

JOSEPH COFFIN
1681 - 1719 + 1704
BETHIAH MACY
1683 - 1788

[SEE CHART #13 (MACY)]

HEZEKIAH COFFIN
1712 - 1799 + 1743
LYDIA FOWLER
1722 - 1807
JEDIDAH COFFIN
1715 - 1797 + 1734 ——— 8 CHILDREN
JOHN HUSSEY
1710 - 1791
MIRIAM COFFIN
1717 - ? + 1737 ——— 2 CHILDREN

JOSEPH CHASE
1710 - ?
MARY COFFIN
1720 - ? + 1736
ISAAC CHASE III
1712 - 1802

$805
1782

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV MICAH COFFIN | 1771 - 1788 |
| IV ZACCHEUS COFFIN | 1788 - 1797 |
| TOTALS | |

(7) (29)

COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #6

II — III — IV — V

SUSANNAH COFFIN
1712 - ?  +1728 — 10 CHILDREN
ROBERT COFFIN
1704 - 1757

HENRY COFFIN
1716 - 1756  +1738 — 2 CHILDREN
MARY WOODBURY
1720 - ?
ANNA COFFIN
1720 - 1802  +1740
PAUL PADDACK
1716 - 1795

[SEE CHART #3]

JONATHAN COFFIN
1692 - 1771  +1721
HEPHZIBAH HARKER
1694 - 1773

JONATHAN COFFIN JR
1723 - 1789  +1743 — 2 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA COFFIN
1725 - 1796
JAMES COFFIN
1725 - 1757  +1752
JEMIMA SWAIN
1728 - 1822
HEPHZIBAH COFFIN
1721 - 1785  +1740

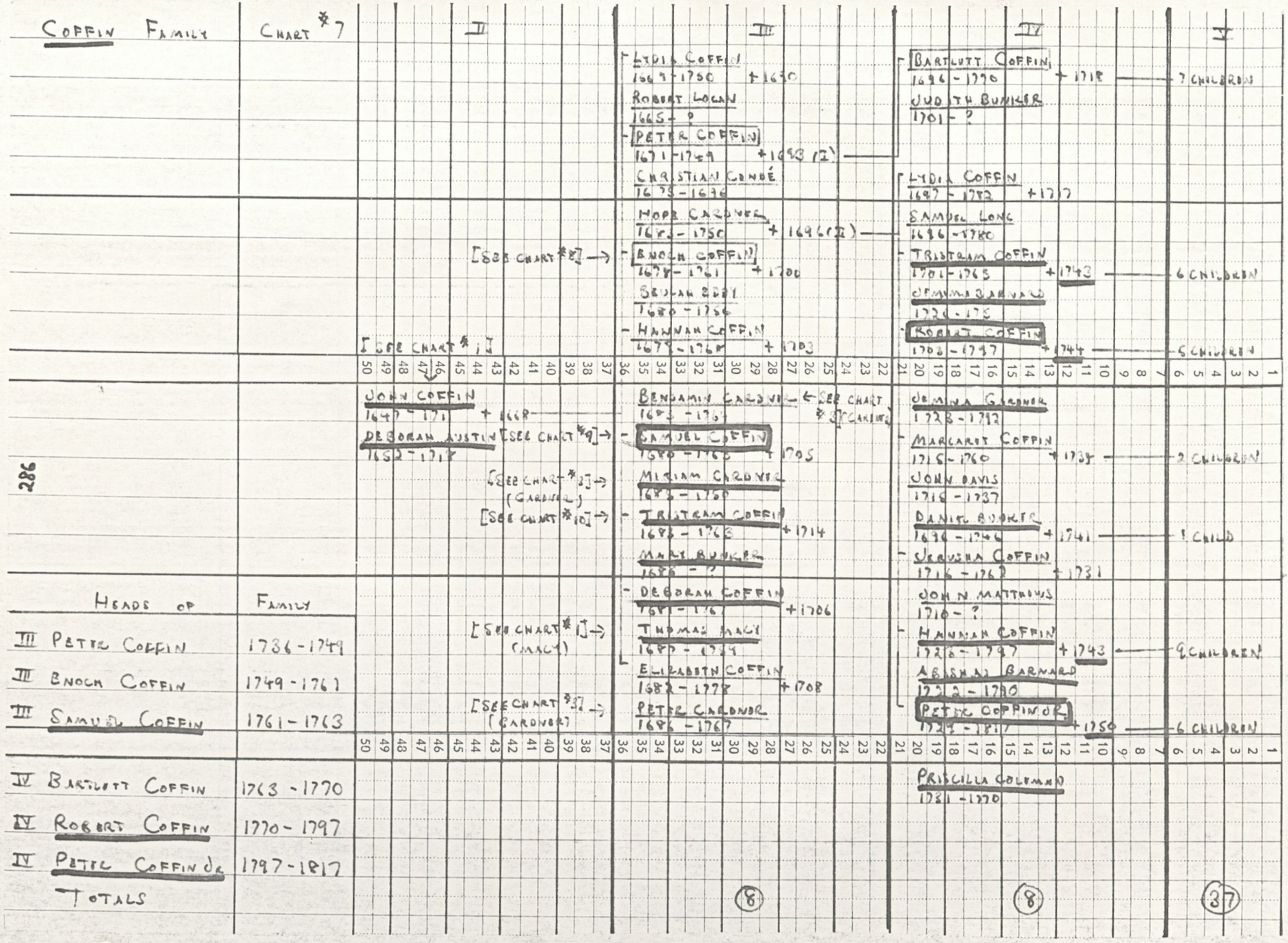
PELEG COFFIN
1712 - ?
MARY COFFIN
1721 - 1796  +1743
CHRISTOPHER MUSSEY
1724 - 1785

285

IV JONATHAN COFFIN JR — 1771 - 1789
HEAD OF FAMILY

TOTALS — (7) — (14)

# COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #7

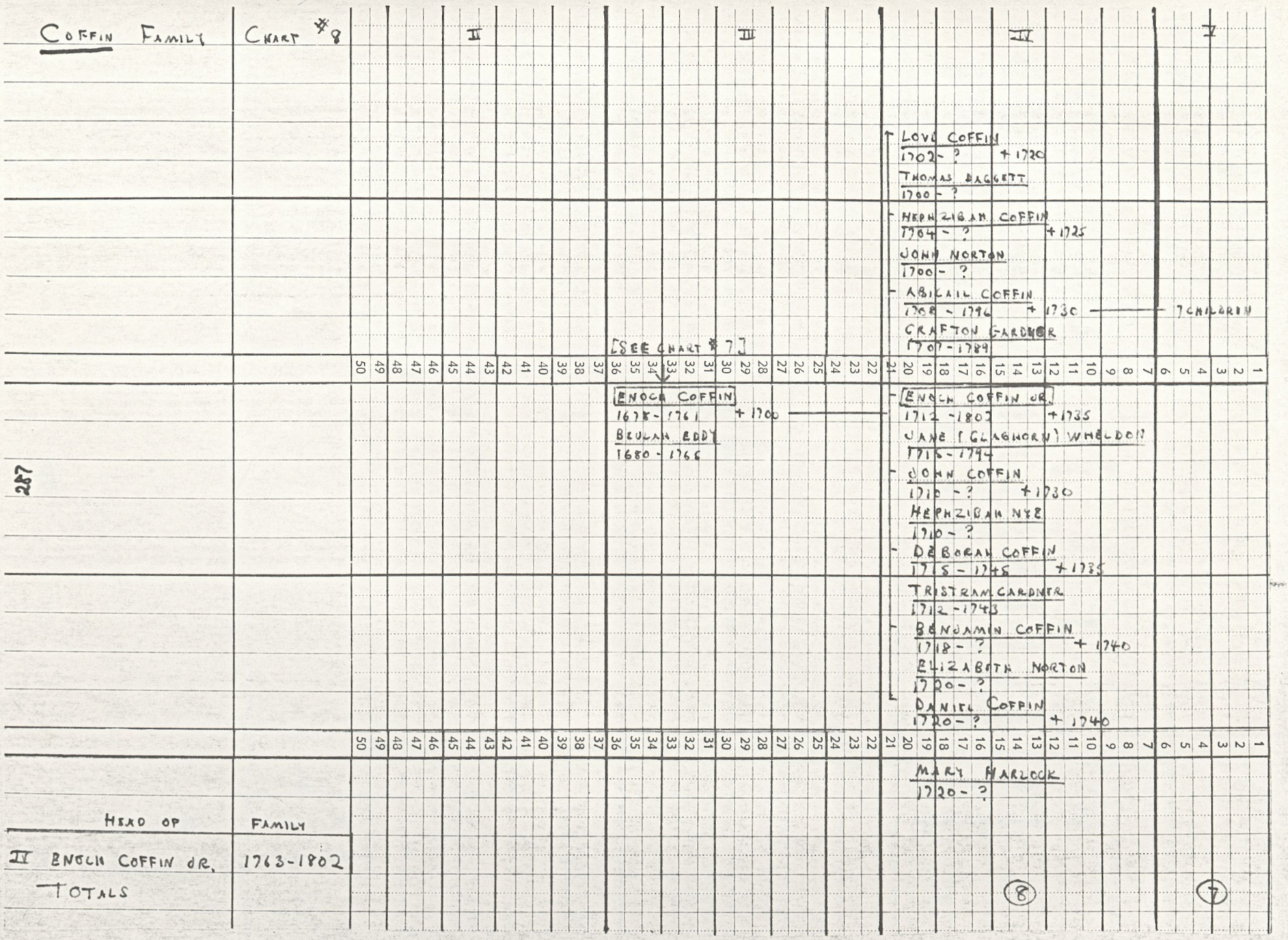



| HEADS OF FAMILY | |
|---|---|
| III PETER COFFIN | 1736 - 1749 |
| III ENOCH COFFIN | 1749 - 1761 |
| III SAMUEL COFFIN | 1761 - 1763 |
| IV BARTLETT COFFIN | 1763 - 1770 |
| IV ROBERT COFFIN | 1770 - 1797 |
| IV PETER COFFIN JR | 1797 - 1817 |
| TOTALS | |

# COFFIN FAMILY

CHART #8

| HEAD OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| II ENOCH COFFIN JR. | 1763-1802 |
| TOTALS | |



COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #9

II — III — IV — V

[SEE CHART #7]

SAMUEL COFFIN
1680 - 1763 + 1705
MIRIAM CARDNER
1685 - 1750

DEBORAH COFFIN
1708 - 1789 + 1729 — 5 CHILDREN
TRISTRAM STARBUCK
1709 - 1789

JOHN COFFIN
1708 - 1788 + 1740 — 1 CHILD
KEZIA FOGGER
1723 - 1798

DANIEL COFFIN
1709 - 1727 + 1725
ROBERT COFFIN
1704 - 1757

SARAH COFFIN
1715 - 1757 + 1733 (II) — 2 CHILDREN
SAMUEL STANTON
1715 - 1740

JAMES PINKHAM
1708 - 1792 + 1744 (II) — 1 CHILD

DAVID COFFIN
1718 - 1804 + 1741 — 9 CHILDREN
RUTH COLEMAN
1721 - 1763

WILLIAM COFFIN
1720 - 1803 + 1740 ← 9 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA RANDALL
1722 - 1803

MIRIAM COFFIN
1723 - ? + 1742 — 7 CHILDREN
RICHARD PINKHAM
1718 - ?

MARY COFFIN
1723 - 1772 + 1742 — 8 CHILDREN
WILLIAM BARNARD
1724 - 1771

PRISCILLA COFFIN
1730 - 1801 + 1748 — 4 CHILDREN
CHRISTOPHER COLEMAN
1723 - 1795

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV JOHN COFFIN | 1763-1788 |
| IV DAVID COFFIN | 1788-1804 |
| TOTALS | |

9

47

288

| COFFIN FAMILY | CHART #10 | II | III | IV | I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | DAVID COFFIN 1718 - 1795 + 1757<br>ABIGAIL FOLGER 1724 - 1792 | |
| | | | | SAMUEL COFFIN 1720 - 1800 + 1744 — 7 CHILD<br>ELIZABETH GARDNER 1724 - ? | |
| | | | | TRISTRAM COFFIN 1722 - 1796 + 1744 (I) — 1 CHI<br>HEPHZIBAH COFFIN 1725 - 1746 | |
| | | | [SEE CHART #7] | | |
| | | | TRISTRAM COFFIN 1680 - 1763 + 1714 | ELIZABETH STARBUCK 1730 - 1819 + 1750 (II) — 4 CHI | |
| | | [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | MARY BUNKER 1685 - ? | JONATHAN COFFIN 1728 - 1785 + 1747 — 4 CHI<br>EUNICE BARNARD 1728 - 1820 | |
| | | | | JOHN COFFIN 1727 - 1755 + 1749 — 3 CHI<br>ANNA COLEMAN 1728 - 1768 | |
| | | | | RICHARD COFFIN 1729 - ? + 1750<br>MARY COOKE 1729 - ? | |
| | | | | MARY COFFIN 1735 - 1808 + 1756 — 8 CHILD<br>JONATHAN BARNARD 1734 - 1755 | |
| | | | | MATTHEW COFFIN 1735 - 1755 | |

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV DAVID COFFIN | 1763 - 1795 |
| IV SAMUEL COFFIN | 1795 - 1800 |
| TOTALS | |

(8)

(27)

289

290

COFFIN FAMILY — CHART #11

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | II | III | IV | V |
| | | | DANIEL COFFIN 1670 - 1724 + ? | | |
| | | | ? ? | | |
| | | | ? ? | | |
| | | | DIONIS COFFIN 1671 - 1750 + 1690 | | |
| | | | JACOB NORTON 1665 - 1740 | SHUBAEL COFFIN 1694 - 1737 + 1717 | |
| | | | PETER COFFIN 1673 - 1740 + ? | PRISCILLA STARBUCK 1696 - 1738 | |
| | | | ? ? | ZEPHANIAH COFFIN 1699 - 1774 + 1725 (I) - 4 CHILDREN | |
| | | | ? ? | MIRIAM MACY 1708 - 1766 | |
| | | | STEPHEN COFFIN JR 1673 - 1725 + 1693 | ABIGAIL COLEMAN 1712 - 1787 + 1737 (II) - 6 CHILDREN | |
| | | | EXPERIENCE LOOK 1672 - 1757 | MARY COFFIN 1705 - 1787 | |
| | | [SEE CHART #1] → | JUDITH COFFIN 1678 - 1760 + 1697 (I) | | |
| | | [SEE CHART #1] (BARNARD) | | | |
| | | STEPHEN COFFIN 1652 - 1734 + 1668 | PETER FOLGER ← [SEE CHART #1] (FOLGER) 1674 - 1707 | HEPHZIBAH COFFIN 1708 - 1782 + 1726 — 11 CHILDREN | |
| | [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | MARY BUNKER 1652 - 1724 | NATHANIEL BARNARD 1672 - 1718 + 1709 (II) | ROBERT BARNARD 1702 - 1735 | |
| | | | STEPHEN WILCOX 1673 - 1736 + 1722 | DINAH COFFIN 1713 - 1793 + 1730 (I) — 1 CHILD | |
| | | | SUSANNAH COFFIN 1680 - 1740 + 1700 | BENJAMIN STARBUCK 1707 - 1731 | |
| | | [SEE CHART #1] → (BUNKER) | PELEG BUNKER 1676 - 1730 | ABISHAI FOLGER 1700 - 1778 + 1735 (II) - 7 CHILDREN | |
| | | | MEHITABLE COFFIN 1682 - 1745 + 1700 | | |
| | | | ARMSTRONG SMITH 1680 - 1715 | | |
| | | | ANNA COFFIN 1685 - 1740 + 1705 | | |
| | | [SEE CHART #3] → (GARDNER) | SOLOMAN GARDNER 1680 - 1760 | | |
| | | [SEE CHART #4] → (GARDNER) | HEPHZIBAH COFFIN 1690 - 1705 + 1707 | PETER COFFIN 1718 - 1800 + 1738 — 2 CHILDREN | |
| | | | SAMUEL GARDNER 1692 - 1757 | DEBORAH HUSSEY 1721 - 1785 | |
| | | | PAUL COFFIN 1695 - 1729 + 1714 | MARY COFFIN 1724 - 1780 + 1741 | (5) (29) |
| | | | MARY ALLEN 1698 - ? | JOHN THURSTON 1713 - 1771 | (2) (2) |
| | | | (10) | | |

| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| IV SHUBAEL COFFIN | 1734-1737 |
| IV ZEPHANIAH COFFIN | 1737-1774 |
| IV PETER COFFIN | 1734-1800 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | (478) |

# FOLGER FAMILY

CHART #1

## I

PETER FOLGER
1618 - 1690 + 1664

MARY MORRELL
1620 - 1704

## II

JOANNA FOLGER
1645 - 1690 + 1665

[SEE CHART #1] → (COLEMAN)
JOHN COLEMAN
1640 - 1735

BETHIAH FOLGER
1646 - 1669 + 1668

[SEE CHART #1] → (BARNARD)
JOHN BARNARD
1642 - 1669

DORCAS FOLGER
1647 - 1742 + 1675

JOSEPH PRATT
1632 - ?

[SEE CHART #2] → (CARDNER)
ELEAZER FOLGER
1648 - 1716 + 1671

SARAH CARDNER
1652 - 1721

BATHSHEBA FOLGER
1650 - 1720 + 1676

JOHN ROBE
1650 - ?

PATIENCE FOLGER
1654 - 1710 + 1678

EBENEZER HARLOW
1650 - 1720

[SEE CHART #2] → (CARDNER)
JOHN FOLGER
1659 - 1753 + 1687

MARY BARNARD
1667 - 1736

EBENEZER FOLGER
1664 - 1736 + 1688

JOHN SWAIN JR
1664 - 1738 ← [SEE CHART #1] (SWAIN)

ABIAH FOLGER
1667 - 1752 + 1690

JOSIAH FRANKLIN
1665 - ?

## III

[SEE CHART #2] (CARDNER)

ELEAZER FOLGER JR
1672 - 1753 + 1696 (1)

BETHIAH GARDNER
1676 - 1716

MARY MARSHALL
1685 - 1765 + 1707 (2)

PETER FOLGER
1677 - 1707 + 1697

DOROTHY COFFIN ← [SEE CHART #1] (COFFIN)
1675 - 1756

SARAH FOLGER
1676 - 1753 + 1702

ANTHONY DOLE
1675 - 1745

MARY FOLGER
1684 - 1720 + 1705

JOHN ARTHUR JR
1684 - 1719 ← [SEE CHART #3]

NATHAN FOLGER
1676 - 1767 + 1699

SARAH CHURCH
1676 - 1755

## IV

GIDEON FOLGER
1709 - 1750

ORION FOLGER
1731 - 1764 + 1751

JEDIDAH STEWART PETTIS
1720 - 1782

ELIPHAZ FOLGER
1728 - 1794 + 1735 ——— 6 CHILDREN

PRISCILLA GORHAM
1728 - 1801

CHARLES FOLGER
1728 - 1787

DEBORAH FOLGER
1729 - 1758 + 1746

BENJAMIN FOLGER
1704 - 1793

BETHIAH FOLGER
1722 - 1810 + 1755

JAMES PINKHAM
1708 - 1792

FREDERICK FOLGER
1724 - 1790 + 1754

MARY TROTT
1730 - 1799

MARGARET FOLGER
1729 - 1812 + 1753 ——— 6 CHILDREN

JONATHAN SWAIN
1728 - 1804

PELEG FOLGER
1732 - 1789

MARY FOLGER
1734 - 1815 + 1761

## V

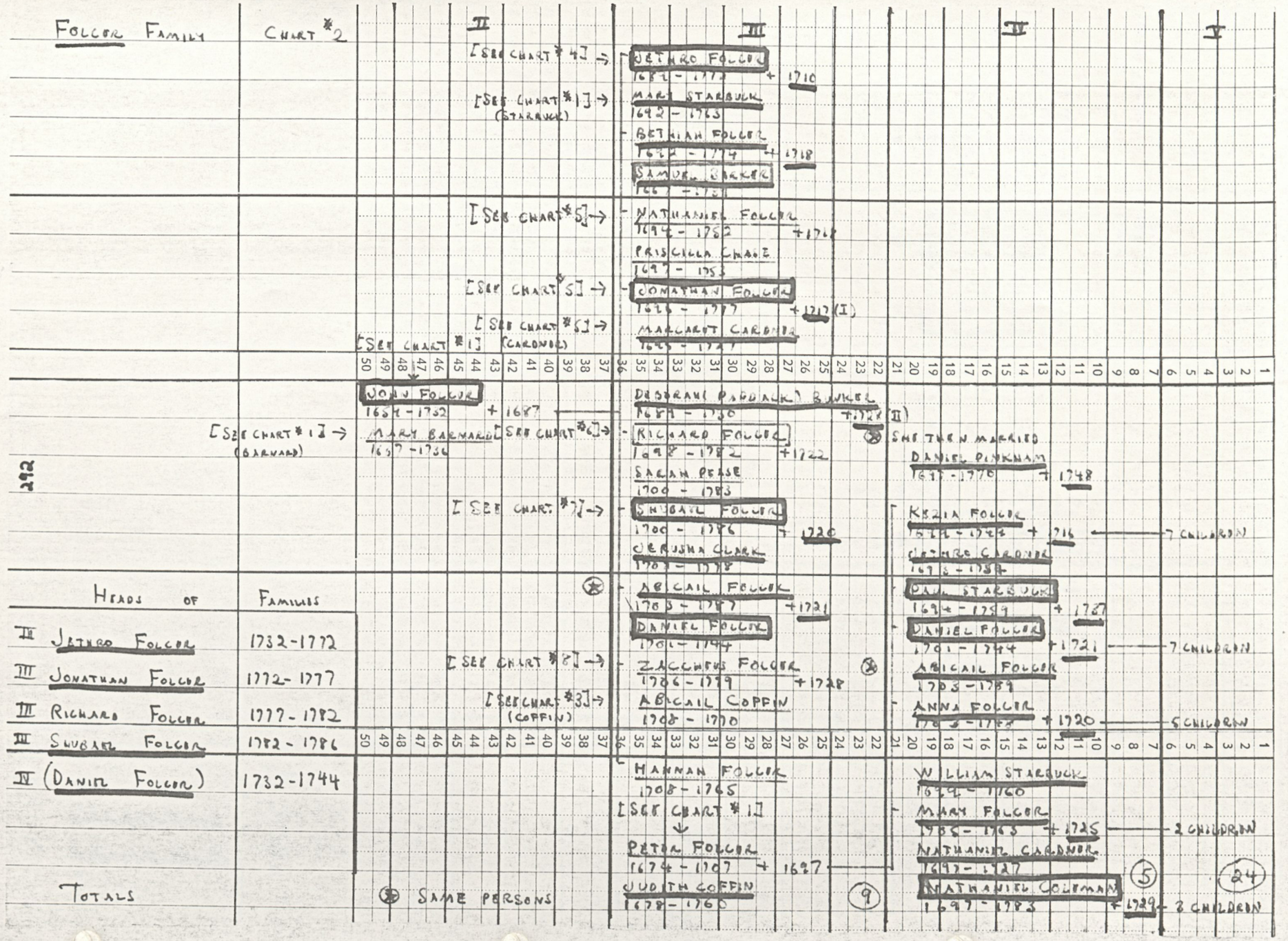
WILLIAM BLACK
1735 - 1796

---

HEADS OF FAMILY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | PETER FOLGER | 1668 - 1690 |
| II | ELEAZER FOLGER | 1690 - 1716 |
| III | JOHN FOLGER | 1716 - 1732 |
| III | ELEAZER FOLGER JR | 1732 - 1753 |
| IV | ORION FOLGER | 1753 - 1764 |
| IV | ELIPHAZ FOLGER | 1764 - 1794 |
| | TOTALS | (1) (9) (5) (10) (12) |

# FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #2

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| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| II JETHRO FOLGER | 1732-1772 |
| III JONATHAN FOLGER | 1772-1777 |
| III RICHARD FOLGER | 1777-1782 |
| III SHUBAEL FOLGER | 1782-1786 |
| IV (DANIEL FOLGER) | 1732-1744 |
| TOTALS | |

⊛ SAME PERSONS

FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #3

II — III — IV — V

[SEE CHART #1]

ABISHAI FOLGER
1700 - 1778 + 1727 (I) — 2 CHILDREN
SARAH MATHEW
1708 - 1734

DINAH (COFFIN) STARBUCK
1713 - 1793 + 1735 (II) - 7 CHILDREN

LEAH FOLGER
1701 - ? + 1719 (I)
RICHARD GARDNER III
1689 - 1724

SETH PADDACK
1699 - ? + 1727 (II)

NATHAN FOLGER
1678 - 1747 + 1699
SARAH CHURCH
1676 - 1745

TIMOTHY FOLGER
1706 - 1750 + 1733
ANNA CHASE
1710 - ?

PETER FOLGER
1708 - 1762 + 1731
CHRISTIAN SWAIN
1722 - 1790

BARZILLAI FOLGER
1710 - 1790 + 1730 — 10 CHILDREN
PHEBE COLEMAN
1711 - 1791

JUDITH FOLGER
1712 - 1765 + 1728 — 1 CHILD
THOMAS JENKINS
1707 - 1756

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV ABISHAI FOLGER | 1753 - 1778 |
| IV BARZILLAI FOLGER | 1778 - 1790 |
| TOTALS | |

(6) (20)

FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #4

II — III — IV — V

JEDIDAH FOLGER
1711 - 1757 + 1730 — 12 CHILDREN
ROBERT CARDNER
1703 - 1797

JOHN FOLGER
1714 - 1750 + 1733
REBECCA BAKER
1718 - 1746

ANNA FOLGER
1720 - ? + 1726
JAMES MITCHELL
1720 - ?

[SEE CHART #2]

JETHRO FOLGER
1689 - 1772 + 1710
MARY STARBUCK
1692 - 1763

LYDIA FOLGER
1722 - 1807 + 1750 — 8 CHILDREN
GEORGE COLEMAN
1730 - 1800

TRISTRAM FOLGER
1727 - 1786 + 1750 — 5 CHILDREN
MARY COFFIN
1730 - 1776

HEPHZIBAH FOLGER
1729 - 1750 + 1747 — 1 CHILD
JONATHAN SWAIN
1728 - 1808

JETHRO FOLGER JR
1731 - 1796 + 1753 — 6 CHILDREN
MARY BARNARD
1736 - 1767

NATHANIEL FOLGER
1734 - 1766

IV JETHRO FOLGER JR — 1786-1796

TOTALS

(8) (32)

294

295

FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #5

II

III

[SEE CHART #2]

NATHANIEL FOLGER
1694 - 1752 + 1718
PRISCILLA CHASE
1697 - 1753

IV

ELIZABETH FOLGER
1719 - 1795 + 1737
PAUL PEASE
1715 - 1755
REBECCA FOLGER
1721 - 1788 + 1742
BENJAMIN MARCHANT
1715 - 1777
JUDITH FOLGER
1726 - 1775 + 1744
EDMOND HEATH
1721 - 1804
PAUL FOLGER
1729 - 1822 + 1749
CATHARINE COFFIN
1733 - 1822

V

[SEE CHART #2]

JONATHAN FOLGER
1696 - 1777 + 1717 (I)
MARGARET CARDNER
1695 - 1727
DEBORAH (PADDACK) BUNKER
1689 - 1750 + 1728 (II)

RUTH FOLGER
1718 - 1783
DINAH FOLGER
1720 - 1786 + 1742
STEPHEN CHASE
1708 - 1787
REUBEN FOLGER
1722 - 1808 + 1743 — 6 CHILDREN
DINAH HUSSEY
1727 - 1763
ABIGAIL FOLGER
1724 - 1792 + 1757
DAVID COFFIN
1718 - 1795
JONATHAN FOLGER JR.
1727 - 1812 + 1750 — 4 CHILDREN
LYDIA BARNARD
1730 - 1800

| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| IV PAUL FOLGER | 1786 - 1822 |
| IV REUBEN FOLGER | 1786 - 1808 |
| IV JONATHAN FOLGER JR. | 1808 - 1812 |
| TOTALS | |

4

5

10

FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #6

II — III — IV — V

SUSANNAH FOLGER
1722 - ? + 1743
EBENEEZER CLEVELAND
1720 - 1794

RACHEL FOLGER
1725 - 1756 + 1774
JOHN ELLIS
1722 - 1756

DAVID FOLGER
1730 - 1813 + 1754
ANNA PITTS
1734 - 1783

[SEE CHART #2]

RICHARD FOLGER
1698 - 1782 + 1722
SARAH DEASE
1700 - 1783

RUTH FOLGER
1732 - ? + 1755
CHRISTOPHER PINKHAM
1730 - ?

SOLOMAN FOLGER
1735 - 1813 + 1758
LYDIA RUSSELL
1740 - 1809

MARTHA FOLGER
1737 - 1781 + 1759
OBADIAH GARDNER
1735 - 1772

HEPHZIBAH FOLGER
1733 - ? + 1766
WILLIAM MOORS
1743 - 1819

ELISHA FOLGER
1746 - 1836 + 1769

DEBORAH SWAIN
1746 - 1816

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV DAVID FOLGER | 1786-1813 |
| IV ELISHA FOLGER | 1813-1836 |
| TOTALS | |

(8)

296

FOLGER FAMILY CHART #7

297

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV SETH FOLGER | 1786-1807 |
| IV BENJAMIN FOLGER | 1807-1819 |
| TOTALS | |

II

III

IV

V

PHEBE FOLGER
1721 - 1802 + 1740 — 12 CHILDREN
JOSEPH MARSHALL
1718 - 1802

SETH FOLGER
1726 - 1807 + 1748 — 8 CHILDREN
PHEBE COLEMAN
1726 - 1797

MARY FOLGER
1727 - 1815 + 1745 — 2 CHILDREN
BENJAMIN WORTH
1725 - 1750

SEE CHART #2

SHUBAEL FOLGER
1700 - 1776 + 1720
JERUSHA CLARK
1702 - 1778

BENJAMIN FOLGER
1731 - 1819 + 1754 — 7 CHILDREN
JUDITH BARNARD
1735 - 1828

JEMIMA FOLGER
1734 - 1779 + 1753
SOLOMAN GARDNER
1731 - 1782

SHUBAEL FOLGER JR
1737 - 1774 + 1757 — 3 CHILDREN
LYDIA BUNKER
1737 - 1818

ABIGAIL FOLGER
1739 - 1812 + 1757 — 2 CHILDREN
BENJAMIN GARDNER
1732 - 1777

(7)

(35)

FOLGER FAMILY — CHART #8

II — III — IV — V

MARY FOLGER
1730 - 1805
JAMES FOLGER
1731 - 1802 + 1755
MARY ALDRICH
1725 - 1807
JOHN FOLGER
1733 - 1815 + 1753

[SEE CHART #2]

ZACCHEUS FOLGER
1706 - 1779 + 1728
ABIGAIL COFFIN
1708 - 1770

LOVE GABRIEL
1732 - 1768
NATHANIEL FOLGER
1740 - 1777 + 1759
MARY WYER
1737 - 1801
ANNA FOLGER
1744 - 1819 + 1779
CHRISTOPHER SWAIN
1740 - 1807
ABIGAIL FOLGER
1746 - 1803 + 1770
ELIJAH COFFIN
1747 - 1781
ZACCHEUS FOLGER
1753 - ?

298

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| II JAMES FOLGER | 1786 - 1802 |
| IV JOHN FOLGER | 1802 - 1815 |
| TOTAL | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 218 |

7

BUNKER FAMILY — CHART #1

I

GEORGE BUNKER
1620 - 1658 +1645

JANE GODFREY
1625 - 1662
[SEE CHART #1] (COLEMAN)

[SEE CHART #1] (HUSSEY)

ELIZABETH BUNKER
1647 - 1700 +1670
THOMAS LOOK JR.
1646 - 1726 [SEE CHART #3]

WILLIAM BUNKER
1650 - 1712 +1669
[SEE CHART #1] (MACY)
MARY MACY
1648 - 1729
[SEE CHART #11] (COFFIN)
MARY BUNKER [SEE CHART #4]
1652 - 1724 +1668
STEPHEN COFFIN
1652 - 1734

ANNE BUNKER
1654 - 1675 +1672
JOSEPH COLEMAN
1642 - 1690
MARTHA BUNKER
1657 - 1744 +1675
STEPHEN HUSSEY
1650 - 1718

[SEE CHART #10] (COFFIN)

II

[SEE CHART #3] (COFFIN)
[SEE CHART #2]

GEORGE BUNKER
1671 - 1743 +1695
DEBORAH COFFIN
1677 - 1767
JOHN BUNKER
1673 - 1721
JONATHAN BUNKER
1676 - 1721 +1694
ELIZABETH COFFIN
1681 - 1769 [SEE CHART #3]

PELEG BUNKER (COFFIN)
1676 - 1730 +1700
SUSANNAH COFFIN [SEE CHART #11] (COFFIN)
1680 - 1740
JABEZ BUNKER
1678 - 1750 +1706
HANNAH CARDNER [SEE CHART #5] (CARDNER)
1686 - 1773

THOMAS BUNKER
1680 - 1721 +1705
PRISCILLA ARTHUR
1685 - 1721
BENJAMIN BUNKER
1683 - 1721 +1709
DEBORAH PADDACK [SEE CHART #5]
1689 - 1750
MARY BUNKER
1685 - ? +1714

TRISTRAM COFFIN
1680 - 1763
ANN BUNKER
1686 - 1743 +1706
NATHANIEL PADDACK
1685 - 1756
ABIGAIL BUNKER
1689 - 1776 +1712

SHUBAEL PINKHAM
1691 - 1767
JANE BUNKER
1681 - 1754 +1717
ROBERT WATSON [SEE (COLEMAN) CHART #1]
1685 - ?
ISAAC COLEMAN
1671 - 1752 +1744

III

DANIEL BUNKER
1696 - 1746 +1717 (I) — 4 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA SWAIN
1702 - 1737
MARGARET (COFFIN) DAVIS
1718 - 1760 +1731 (II) - 1 CHILD

JOHN BUNKER
1697 - 1777 +1725 — 6 CHILDREN
MARY COFFIN
1710 - 1785

CALEB BUNKER
1699 - 1777 +1725 — 3 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA (BUNKER) COFFIN
1703 - 1795

IV

V

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| II WILLIAM BUNKER | 1661 - 1712 |
| III GEORGE BUNKER | 1712 - 1743 |
| III JABEZ BUNKER | 1743 - 1750 |
| IV JOHN BUNKER | 1750 - 1777 |
| TOTALS | 1 |

5 11 3 14

300

BUNKER FAMILY — CHART #2

II — III — IV — V

[SEE CHART #1]

ZACHARIAH BUNKER
1695 - 1757 + 1728 — 9 CHILDREN
DESIRE GORHAM
1710 - 1801

SIMEON BUNKER
1696 - 1751 + 1734 — 2 CHILDREN
HULDAH HUSSEY
1715 - 1798

GEORGE BUNKER
1698 - 1740 + 1738 — 1 CHILD
ABIGAIL WORTH
1721 - 1788

JONATHAN BUNKER
1676 - 1721 + 1694 —
ELIZABETH COFFIN
1681 - 1769

JAMES BUNKER
1699 - ? + 1737 — 5 CHILDREN
BETHIAH JENKINS
1719 - 1749

LYDIA BUNKER
1700 - 1785 + 1717 — 10 CHILDREN
NATHAN COFFIN
1696 - 1768

RUTH BUNKER
1702 - 1779 + 1718 — 12 CHILDREN
RICHARD COFFIN
1694 - 1768

PATIENCE BUNKER
1705 - 1794 + 1723 — 10 CHILDREN
JONATHAN GARDNER
1696 - 1777

ABIGAIL BUNKER
1706 - 1799 + 1727

JOHN PINKHAM
1707 - 1755

JUDITH BUNKER
1708 - ? + 1731 — 1 CHILD
ALEXANDER COFFIN
1713 - 1741

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV ZACHARIAH BUNKER | 1750-1757 |
| IV JAMES BUNKER | 1757- ? |
| TOTALS | |

(9) (50)

301

| Bunker Family | Chart #3 | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Judith Bunker<br>1701 - ? + 1718 | 7 children |
| | | | | Bartlett Coffin<br>1696 - 1770 | |
| | | | | Priscilla Bunker<br>1703 - 1795 + 1721 (I) | 1 child |
| | | | | Joshua Coffin<br>1701 - 1721 | |
| | | | | Caleb Bunker<br>1699 - 1777 + 1725 (II) | 4 children |
| | | | | Dinah Bunker<br>1705 - 1778 + 1721 (I) | 1 child |
| | | | [See chart #1] | Elisha Coffin<br>1701 - 1722 | |
| | | | Peleg Bunker<br>1676 - 1780 + 1700 | James Williams<br>1700 - 1726 + 1724 (II) | 1 child |
| | | | Susannah Coffin<br>1680 - 1740 | John Ellis<br>1700 - 1768 + 1731 (III) | 1 child |
| | | | | Mary Bunker<br>1707 - 1750 + 1732 | 6 children |
| | | | | Timothy Barnard<br>1712 - 1749 | |
| | | | | Jonathan Bunker<br>1701 - 1788 + 1742 | 8 children |
| | | | | Judith Macy<br>1721 - 1799 | |
| | | | | William Bunker<br>1710 - 1746 + 1729 | |
| | | | | Jane Coffin<br>1712 - 1778 | |
| | | | | Hephzibah Bunker<br>1711 - ? + 1726 | |
| | | | | Eliphalet Smith<br>1704 - 1727 | |
| | | | | Benjamin Thurston<br>1705 - ? + 1735 | |
| Head of | Family | | | | |
| IV Jonathan Bunker | 1750-1788 | | | | |
| Totals | | | | 7 | 29 |

302

BUNKER FAMILY — CHART #4

II — III — IV — V

NAOMI BUNKER
1709 - 1792 + 1726 — 8 CHILDREN
ELIPHALET PADDACK
1700 - 1773

SAMUEL BUNKER
1711 - 1797 + 1731 — 11 CHILDREN
PRISCILLA COLEMAN
1713 - 1797

PAUL BUNKER
1713 - 1795 + 1736 — 6 CHILDREN
HANNAH CARDNER
1723 - 1788

[SEE CHART # 1]

JABEZ BUNKER
1678 - 1750 + 1706
HANNAH CARDNER
1686 - 1773

ABNER BUNKER
1719 - 1780

BENJAMIN BUNKER
1721 - 1788 + 1743 — 4 CHILDREN
ABIGAIL (WORTH) BUNKER
1721 - 1780

HANNAH BUNKER
1723 - 1806 + 1766
BENJAMIN COFFIN
1718 - 1793

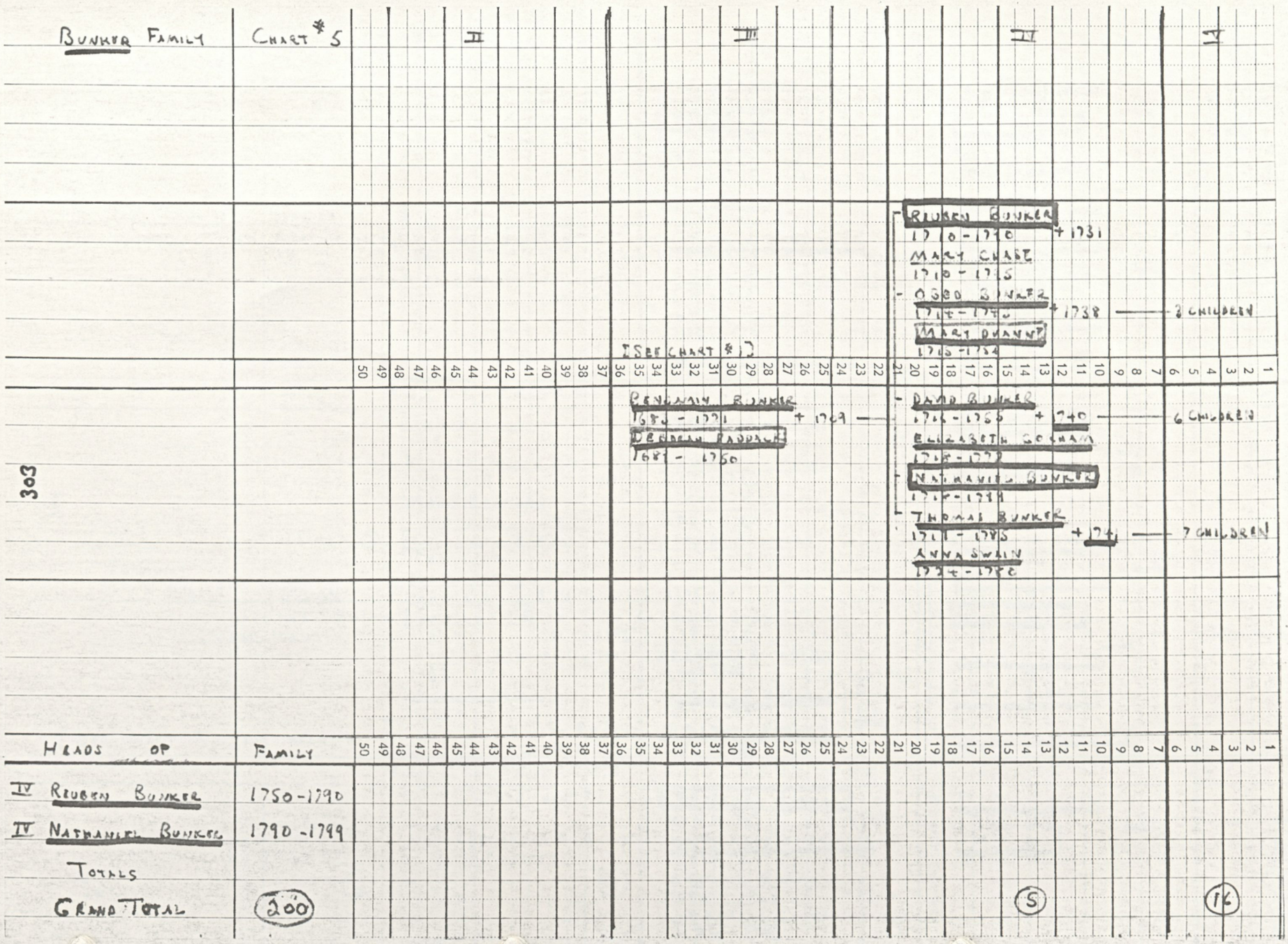
PETER BUNKER
1725 - 1755 + 1749 — 2 CHILDREN
JUDITH CARDNER
1726 - 1751

PELEG BUNKER
1727 - 1806 + 1749 — 9 CHILDREN
LYDIA WORTH
1837 - 1776

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV SAMUEL BUNKER | 1750-1797 |
| IV PELEG BUNKER | 1797-1806 |
| TOTALS | |

(8) (43)

BUNKER FAMILY — CHART #5




| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| V REUBEN BUNKER | 1750-1790 |
| IV NATHANIEL BUNKER | 1790-1799 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 200 |

304

BARNARD FAMILY — CHART #1

I

X THOMAS BARNARD

[BROTHER] 1650 - 1680 + 1630

? ?

? ?

II

[SEE CHART #2] (FOLGER) →

[SEE CHART #1] (MACY) →

⊛ [SAME]

NATHANIEL BARNARD 1642 - 1718 + 1665

MARY BARNARD 1645 - 1718 [SEE CHART #1] (COFFIN) →

[SEE CHART #11] (COFFIN) →

III

MARY BARNARD 1667 - 1736 + 1687

JOHN FOLGER 1652 - 1732

JOHN BARNARD 1670 - 1745 + 1697

SARAH MACY 1677 - 1742

NATHANIEL BARNARD JR 1672 - 1718 + 1700 (I)

ELIZABETH (STARBUCK) COFFIN 1665 - 1706

DORCAS MANNING 1685 - 1708 + 1707 (II)

JUDITH (COFFIN) FOLGER 1678 - 1760 + 1708 (III)

IV

JEMIMA BARNARD 1699 - 1789 + 1720 — 8 CHILDREN

ELIHU COLEMAN 1699 - 1789

ROBERT BARNARD 1702 - 1765 + 1726 — 12 CHILDREN

HEPHZIBAH COFFIN 1708 - 1782

MATTHEW BARNARD 1705 - 1788 + 1726 — 11 CHILDREN

MARY TIBBETTS 1707 - 1785

SAMUEL BARNARD 1707 - 1772

HANNAH BARNARD 1711 - 1788

I

JOHN BARNARD 1642 - 1669 + 1668

[SEE CHART #1] (FOLGER) → BETHIAH FOLGER 1646 - 1669 [SEE CHART #2] (GARDNER) →

MARY BARNARD 1645 - 1718 + 1665

[SAME] ⊛ NATHANIEL BARNARD 1642 - 1718

[BROTHER] X ROBERT BARNARD

SARAH BARNARD 1650 - 1732 + 1670

1605 - 1662 + 1635

JOANNA HARVEY 1610 - 1705

JAMES SKIFFE 1650 - ? [SEE CHART #3]

MARTHA BARNARD (COFFIN) → 1652 - 1718 + 1670

WILLIAM ROGERS 1650 - ?

[SEE CHART #5] GARDNER →

STEPHEN BARNARD 1674 - 1748 + 1694 (I)

DAMARIS GARDNER 1674 - 1696

HOPCOT GARDNER 1685 - 1750 + 1708 (II)

SARAH BARNARD 1677 - 1750 + 1700

THOMAS CURRIER 1675 - ?

ELINOR BARNARD 1679 - 1769 + 1700

EBENEEZER COFFIN 1679 - 1769 [SEE CHART #2]

BENJAMIN BARNARD 1681 - 1729 + 1711

JUDITH GARDNER 1683 - 1765

DORCAS BARNARD 1707 - 1768 + 1726

JACOB BARNEY 1705 - 1770

ELIZABETH BARNARD 1710 - 1729 + 1728 — 1 CHILD

BARNABAS COLEMAN 1706 - 1785

PETER BARNARD 1713 - 1775 + 1734 — 9 CHILDREN

ANNA STARBUCK 1716 - 1785

EUNICE BARNARD 1714 - 1727

NATHANIEL BARNARD III 1717 - 1743

[SEE CHART #2 FOR HEADS OF FAMILIES]

[SEE CHART #3] →

[SEE CHART #1] (HUSSEY) →

EBENEEZER BARNARD 1684 - 1767 + 1722

MARY (HUSSEY) WORTH 1689 - 1771

ABIGAIL BARNARD 1686 - 1760 + 1710

ABRAHAM CHASE 1684 - 1743

THOMAS BARNARD 1709 - 1780 + 1735 — 6 CHILDREN

SARAH HOAG 1710 - 1785

TOTALS: ② ① ④ ⑨ ⑤ ⑤ ① ③ ⑩ ⑥

BARNARD FAMILY CHART #2

| HEADS OF | FAMILIES |
|---|---|
| I ROBERT BARNARD | 1661 - 1662 |
| II NATHANIEL BARNARD | 1662 - 1718 |
| III JOHN BARNARD | 1718 - 1745 |
| III STEPHEN BARNARD | 1745 - 1748 |
| III EBENEZER BARNARD | 1748 - 1767 |
| IV MATTHEW BARNARD | 1767 - 1788 |
| IV PETER BARNARD | 1767 - 1775 |
| IV FRANCIS BARNARD | 1767 - 1796 |
| TOTALS | |

[SEE CHART #1]

305

II

III

IV

V

[SEE CHART #1]

BENJAMIN BARNARD
1681 - 1727
+ 1711
JUDITH CARDNER
1693 - 1765

TIMOTHY BARNARD
1712 - 1749
+ 1732 —— 6 CHILDREN
MARY BUNKER
1710 - 1750

ABIGAIL BARNARD
1714 - ?
+ 1731 —— 11 CHILDREN
ROBERT MACY
1710 - 1771

RUTH BARNARD
1711 - ?
+ 1736 —— 7 CHILDREN
PETER CLARK
1709 - 1750

FRANCIS BARNARD
1718 - 1800
+ 1741 —— 8 CHILDREN
ELIZABETH MACY
1722 - 1805

JOHN BARNARD
1720 - 1802
+ 1744
MARY ELLIS
1723 - 1797

ABIGAIL BARNARD
1722 - 1796
+ 1745 —— 9 CHILDREN

HANNAH COFFIN
1723 - 1797

NATHANIEL BARNARD
1727 - 1794

MARY BARNARD
1729 - 1817
+ 1751 —— 4 CHILDREN
CHRISTOPHER STARBUCK
1725 - 1815

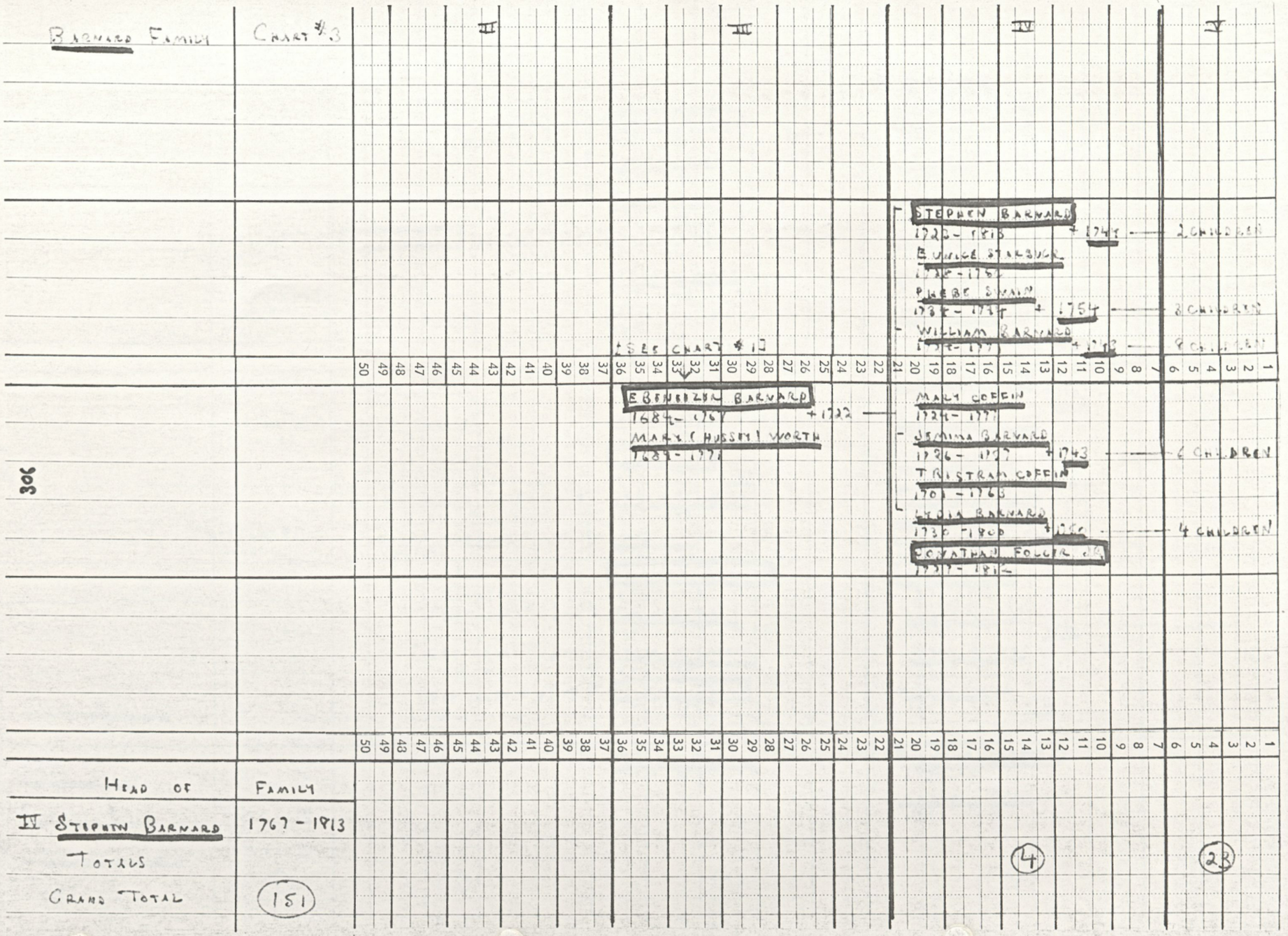
(8)

(42)

BARNARD FAMILY — CHART #3

306

| HEAD OF FAMILY | |
|---|---|
| III STEPHEN BARNARD | 1767 - 1813 |
| TOTALS | (4) (28) |
| GRAND TOTAL | (151) |



307

# MACY FAMILY — CHART #1

| | I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | [SEE CHART #1] (WORTH) → | JOHN MACY JR 1675-1751 + 1707 | MIRIAM MACY 1708-1736 + 1725 | 4 CHILDREN |
| | | | JUDITH WORTH 1684-1797 | EPHANIAH COFFIN 1694-1744 | |
| | | | | SETH MACY 1710-1790 | |
| | | SARAH MACY 1646-1701 + 1665 | SARAH MACY 1677-1748 + 1697 | DAVID MACY 1714-? + 1739 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #1] (WORTH) → | WILLIAM WORTH 1640-1724 [SEE CHART #1] (BARNARD) → | JOHN BARNARD 1670-1745 | DINAH GARDNER 1715-? | |
| | | MARY MACY 1648-1729 + 1669 | DEBORAH MACY 1679-1742 + 1714 | ANNA MACY 1717-1756 + 1735 | 3 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #1] (BUNKER) → | WILLIAM BUNKER 1650-1712 | DANIEL RUSSELL 1675-1766 | JOSEPH JENKINS 1713-1785 | |
| THOMAS MACY 1608 1682 + 1639 | | | JOHN RENOUFF 1686-1746 + 1725 | | |
| SARAH NOPCOT 1610-1660 | | BETHIAH MACY 1650-1732 + 1672 | BETHIAH MACY 1683-1738 + 1704 | JOHN MACY III 1721-? + 1743 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | [SEE CHART #2] (GARDNER) → | JOSEPH GARDNER 1652-1703 [SEE CHART #2] → | JOSEPH COFFIN 1681-1719 ← [SEE CHART #5] (COFFIN) | BUNICE COLEMAN 1721-1768 | |
| | | THOMAS MACY JR 1653-1675 [SEE CHART #2] (STARBUCK) → | JABEZ MACY 1683-1776 + 1712 | JUDITH MACY 1723-1795 + 1753 | |
| | | JOHN MACY 1655-1691 + 1674 | SARAH STARBUCK 1697-1789 | WILLIAM CLASS 1724-1793 | |
| | [SEE CHART #2] (GARDNER) → | DEBORAH GARDNER 1658-1696 | MARY MACY 1685-1715 + 1711 | JONATHAN MACY 1725-1798 + 1727 | 8 CHILDREN |
| | | [SEE CHART #3] (COLEMAN) → | SOLOMAN COLEMAN 1688-1772 | LOIS GORHAM 1727-1805 | |
| | | [SEE CHART #3] → | THOMAS MACY 1687-1759 + 1706 | WILLIAM MACY 1727-1753 + 1846 | 3 CHILDREN |
| | | [SEE CHART #7] (COFFIN) → | DEBORAH COFFIN 1681-1760 | MARY BARNEY 1728-1777 | |
| | | [SEE CHART #4] → | RICHARD MACY 1689-1779 + 1711 | SARAH MACY 1729-? + 1746 | |
| | | | DEBORAH PINKHAM 1694-1767 | RICHARD GARDNER 1729-? | |
| | | | | ABIGAIL MACY 1731-1763 | |
| TOTALS | 1 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 34 |

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| I THOMAS MACY | 1661-1682 |
| II JOHN MACY | 1682-1691 |
| III JOHN MACY JR | 1691-1751 |
| III JABEZ MACY | 1751-1776 |
| III RICHARD MACY | 1776-1779 |
| IV JONATHAN MACY | 1779-1798 |

MACY FAMILY

CHART #2

II

III

IV

V

GEORGE MACY
1720 - 1742

EUNICE MACY
1721 - ? + 1743 — 5 CHILDREN

RICHARD BEARD
1720 - ?

DORCAS MACY
1724 - 1768

JETHRO MACY
1728 - ? + 1750 — 5 CHILDREN

HEPHZIBAH WORTH
1726 - ?

DANIEL MACY
1731 - 1768 + 1755 — 3 CHILDREN

[SEE CHART #1]

JABEZ MACY
1683 - 1776 + 1712

SARAH STALBUCK
1697 - 1787

ABICAIL SWAIN
1734 - ?

MATTHEW MACY
1732 - ? + 1755

ABICAIL COFFIN
1736 - 1758

ABICAIL GARDNER
1731 - ? + 1761

LYDIA MACY
1734 - 1822 + 1756 — 1 CHILD

MATTHEW JENKINS
1734 - 1751

SARAH MACY
1737 - 1800

JABEZ MACY JR.
1732 - 1767 + 1767

RACHEL CARTWRIGHT
1737 - 1776

TOTALS

(9)

(15)

308

MACY FAMILY CHART #3

II III IV V

JOSEPH MACY 1709-1772 + 1727 — 7 CHILDREN
HANNAH HOBBS 1710
ROBERT MACY 1710-1771 + 1731 — 9 CHILDREN
ABIGAIL BARNARD 1714-?
LOVE MACY 1713-1767 + 1733 — 3 CHILDREN
JOSEPH ROTCH 1704-1781
FRANCIS MACY 1715-1793 + 1738 — 10 CHILDREN
JUDITH COFFIN 1717-1791

SEE CHART #17

309

THOMAS MACY 1687-1754 + 1706
DEBORAH COFFIN 1681-1760

NATHANIEL MACY 1715-1793 + 1741 — 7 CHILDREN
ABIGAIL PINKHAM 1715-1793
LYDIA MACY 1720-1785 + 1748 — 6 CHILDREN
ARTHUR COLEMAN 1706-1785
ELIZABETH MACY 1722-1795 + 1741 — 8 CHILDREN
FRANCIS BARNARD 1718-1800
DEBORAH MACY 1726-? + 1762 — 2 CHILDREN
BENJAMIN COFFIN 1705-1780
ANNA MACY 1730-1789 + 1753 — 2 CHILDREN

RICHARD WORTH JR 1730-1816
HEPZIBAH MACY 1734-? + 1754 — 2 CHILDREN
THOMAS DAVIS 1737-?

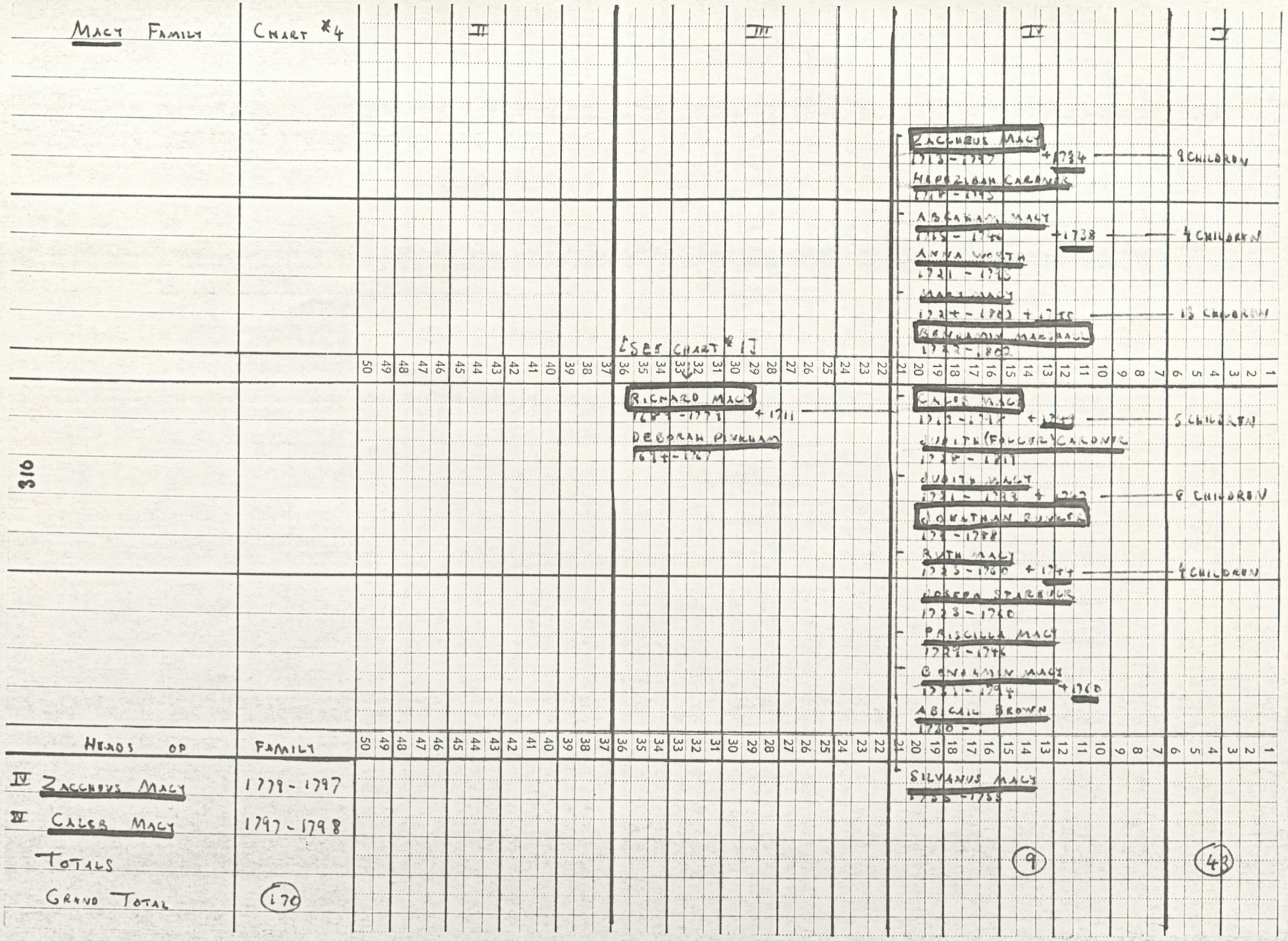
(10) (56)

HEAD OF FAMILY

IV FRANCIS MACY 1779-1793

TOTALS

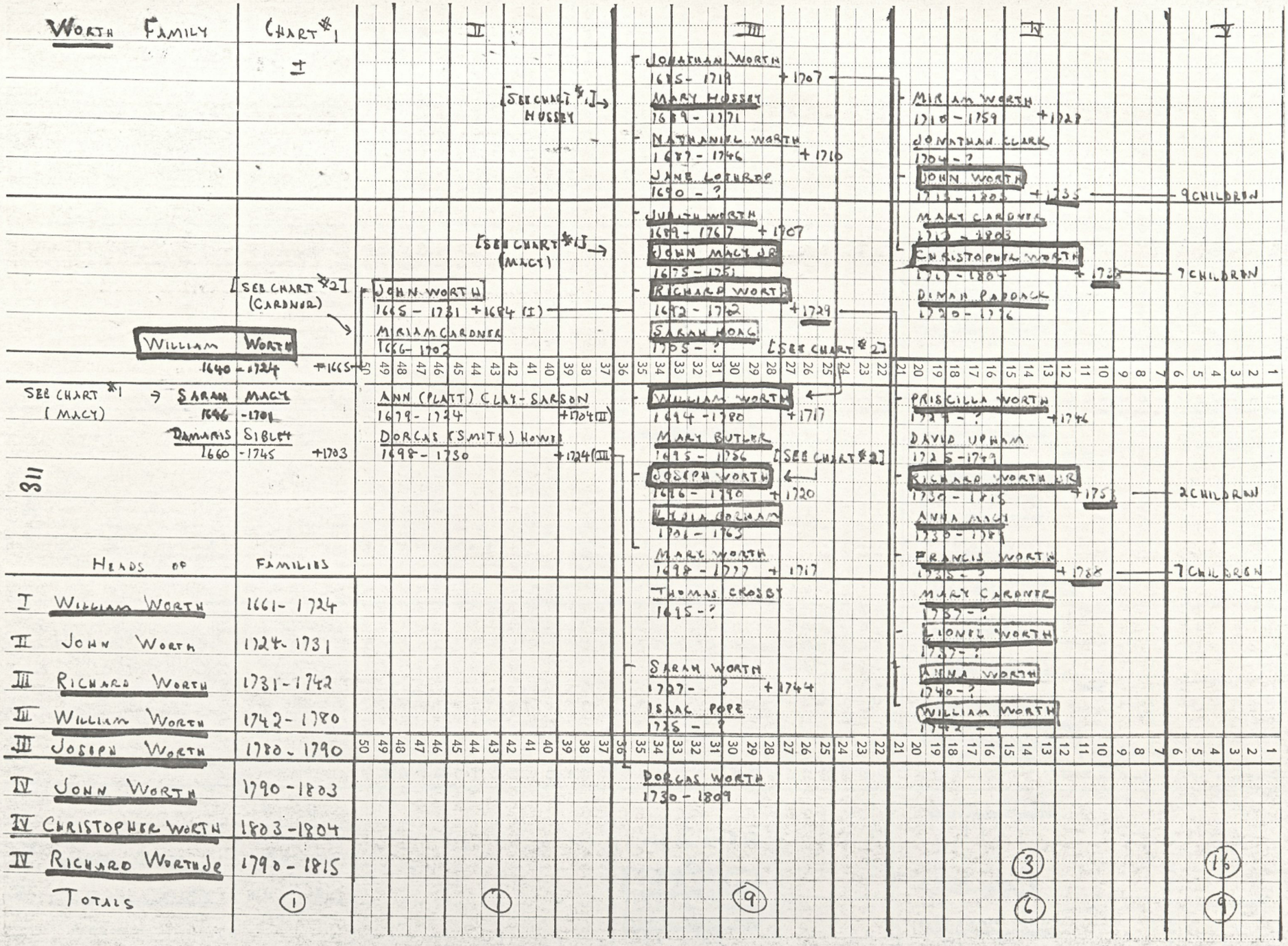
MACY FAMILY CHART #4




310

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV ZACCHEUS MACY | 1779 - 1797 |
| V CALEB MACY | 1797 - 1798 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | (170) |

# WORTH FAMILY — CHART #1

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| HEADS OF FAMILIES | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | WILLIAM WORTH | 1661 - 1724 |
| II | JOHN WORTH | 1724 - 1731 |
| III | RICHARD WORTH | 1731 - 1742 |
| III | WILLIAM WORTH | 1742 - 1780 |
| III | JOSEPH WORTH | 1780 - 1790 |
| IV | JOHN WORTH | 1790 - 1803 |
| IV | CHRISTOPHER WORTH | 1803 - 1804 |
| IV | RICHARD WORTH JR | 1790 - 1815 |
| | TOTALS | (1) (1) (9) (3) (6) (1/2) (9) |

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WORTH FAMILY — CHART #2

II — III — IV — V

[SEE CHART #1]

- JUDITH WORTH 1718-1769
- JEMIMA WORTH 1720-1789 + 1742 — 9 CHILDREN
- STEPHEN CARDNER 1720-1789
- SARAH WORTH 1721-1797

WILLIAM WORTH 1694-1780 + 1717 — 6 CHILDREN
MARY BUTLER 1695-1756

- DAMARIS WORTH 1722-1780 + 1741 — 6 CHILDREN
- EDWARD STARBUCK 1719-1798
- JONAH WORTH 1723-1807
- MIRIAM WORTH 1725-1816
- HEPHZIBAH WORTH 1726-? 1750 — 5 CHILDREN
- JETHRO MACY 1728-?
- HANNAH WORTH 1728-1820 + 1753 — 5 CHILDREN
- SILVANUS SWAIN 1720-1763
- MATTHEW WORTH 1730-1812 + 1765

SOPHIA FOLGER 1731-1790

[SEE CHART #1]

JOSEPH WORTH 1696-1790 + 1720 — 4 CHILDREN
LYDIA GORHAM 1701-1763

- ANNA WORTH 1721-1795 + 1738 — 4 CHILDREN
- ABRAHAM MACY 1715-1746

[SEE NEXT PAGE]

9 — 24

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV JONAH WORTH | 1790-1807 |
| IV MATTHEW WORTH | 1807-1812 |
| TOTALS | |

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WORTH FAMILY — CHART #3

II — III — [FROM PAGE ABOVE] — IV — V

- ABIGAIL WORTH 1721 - 1788 + 1738 — 1 CHILD
- GEORGE BUNKER 1698 - 1740
- NATHANIEL WORTH 1723 - 1806 + 1759
- ANNA (COFFIN) SWAIN 1725 - 1795
- REUBEN WORTH 1725 - 1800 + 1749 — 2 CHILDREN
- MARY ALLEN 1730 - 1786
- SILVANUS WORTH 1727 - 1811 + 1749 — 6 CHILDREN
- RACHEL ALLEN 1732 - 1812
- JOSEPH WORTH JR. 1729 - ? + 1753 — 4 CHILDREN

50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

- JUDITH STARBUCK 1734 - 1815
- LYDIA WORTH 1731 - 1776 + 1749 — 9 CHILDREN
- PELEG BUNKER 1727 - 1806
- MIRIAM WORTH 1734 - 1763 + 1751 — 6 CHILDREN
- JONATHAN GARDNER 1728 - 1807
- THOMAS WORTH 1736 - 1823 + 1757 — 3 CHILDREN
- DEBORAH SWAIN 1739 - 1771
- DANIEL WORTH 1739 - ? + 1764
- EUNICE RUSSEY 1744 - 1771

50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

- WILLIAM WORTH 1741 - 1792 + 1763
- RUTH FOLGER 1743 - 1828
- SHUBAEL WORTH 1745 - 1824 + 1769
- BETHIAH JENKINS 1749 - 1815

| HEADS OF | FAMILY |
|---|---|
| IV NATHANIEL WORTH | 1790 - 1806 |
| IV THOMAS WORTH | 1806 - 1823 |
| IV SHUBAEL WORTH | 1823 - 1824 |
| TOTALS | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 124 |

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## Summary

Family Genealogical Covering Four

| Nantucket Charts Generations | | Number Heads of Family | Total Marriages | Marriages under a Nantucket M.M. | Non-Quaker Marriages | Number Quakers | Number Non-Quakers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Swain | #1 | 7 | 17 | 3 | 14 | 11 | 22 |
| Swain | #2 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 11 |
| Gardner | #1 | 7 | 18 | — | 18 | 1 | 36 |
| Gardner | #2 | 1 | 19 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 26 |
| Gardner | #3 | 3 | 8 | — | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| Gardner | #4 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 15 | 1 |
| Gardner | #5 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 13 | 6 |
| Hussey | #1 | 4 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 23 | 7 |
| Hussey | #2 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| Hussey | #3 | — | 4 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| Hussey | #4 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 17 | 2 |
| Starbuck | #1 | 6 | 28 | 11 | 17 | 40 | 13 |
| Starbuck | #2 | 1 | 8 | 8 | — | 15 | — |
| Coleman | #1 | 7 | 26 | 12 | 14 | 23 | 25 |
| Coleman | #2 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Coleman | #3 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 16 | 1 |
| Coffin | #1 | 6 | 28 | 2 | 26 | 1 | 44 |
| Coffin | #2 | 4 | 19 | — | 19 | 5 | 31 |

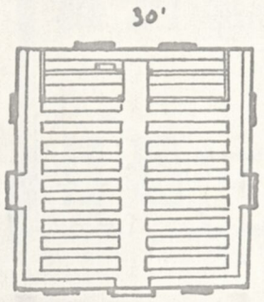
| | | |

| | | |

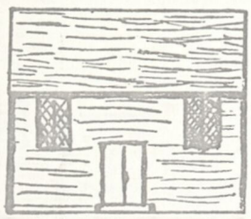
APPENDIX D

## PLANS FOR NANTUCKET MEETINGHOUSES

### No. 1. 1711-16




GROUND PLAN



FRONT VIEW SOUTH

SIDE VIEW WEST

SEATED 200 PERSONS

"PARISH" 125-215 PERSONS

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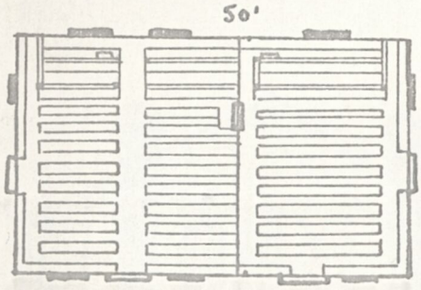
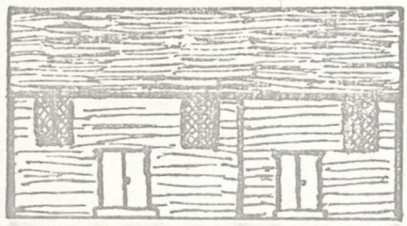
200 Women 125 men

20' addition to side-1716

### No. 1. 1716-1732




GROUND PLAN



FRONT VIEW
SIDE VIEW AS ABOVE

SEATED 325 PERSONS

"PARISH" 215-730

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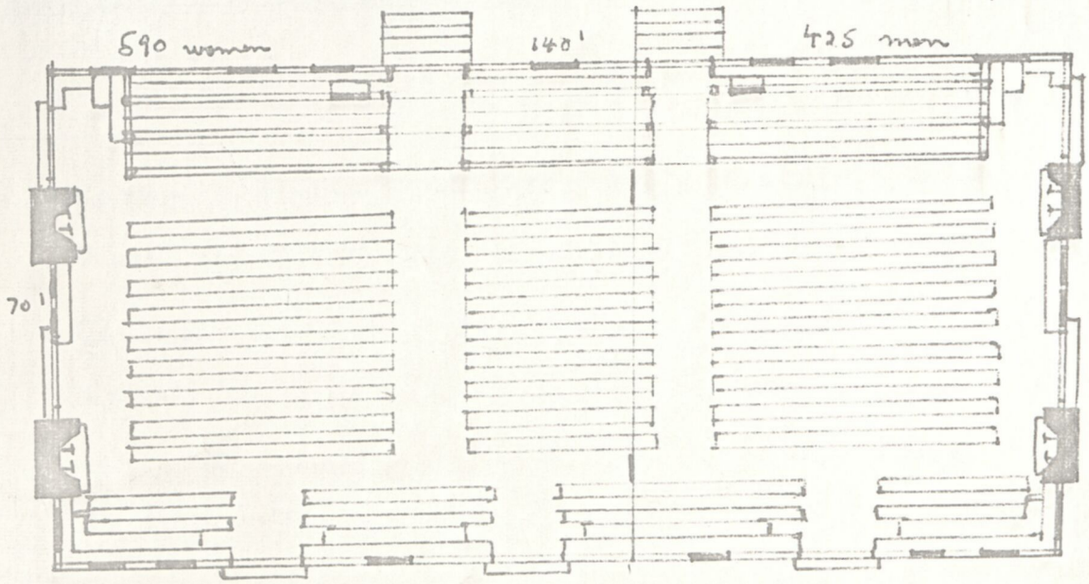
SARATOGA ST.

### No. 2. 1732-1747



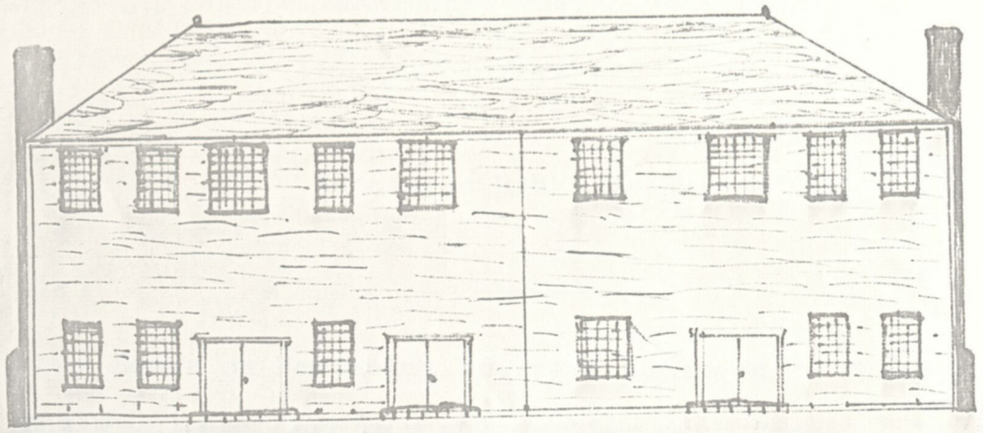

SEATED 1015 PERSONS

"PARISH" 730-950

GROUND PLAN

317 3018

No. 2. 1732-1747



FRONT VIEW FROM SOUTH

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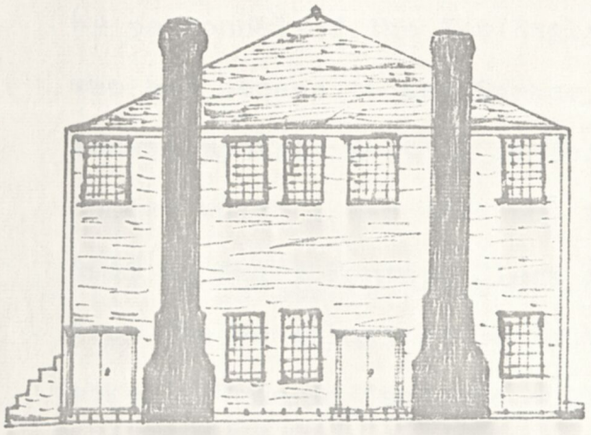
No. 2. 1732-1747



SIDE VIEW FROM WEST

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NOTE - THESE SKETCHES ARE PURELY CONJECTURAL. THEY DO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION CONTEMPORARY QUAKER MEETING HOUSES STILL EXTANT. THE SAME SCALE IS USED THROUGHOUT. THE BIG MEETINGHOUSE HAD 47 WINDOWS - HENCE THE CONSTANT NEED FOR REPAIRING THEM.

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NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

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Annotated Bibliographical Note

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Books on Nantucket are very numerous. Those dealing with the eighteenth century and earlier much fewer. In fact only a handful are really useful. For me the single most useful work is the five large volumes of the Vital Records of the Town of Nantucket to 1850, Boston, Eddy Town Record Fund, 1925-1928. This exhaustive compilation of births, marriages and deaths allow for the reconstruction of families on the Island. It was prepared by personnel of the New England Historical Genealogical Society, who had access to the Quaker membership records as held by Nantucket Monthly Meeting in West Warwick, R.I., at that time. The copies which I use were put in my possession on permanent loan in 1942 by Henry Foster, Clerk of the Monthly Meeting, who received them from the Genealogical Society in return for ~~their~~ the data being made available. Thus in fact the collection is being used to promote the study of Quakerism on Nantucket. Against this the genealogical tables (partial) compiled by Alexander Starbuck in his History of Nantucket County Island Town, Boston, G.E. Goodspeed, 1924 (RE-PRINTED 1968) is useful. And the work itself is the best general work on Nantucket, though sketchy for the 18th century. The Ms. "A Record of the Births, Deaths, Receptions, Disownments and Removals alphabetically arranged in the Society of Friends on the Island of Nantucket", 1792-1945, is an invaluable volume now on permanent loan at the Nantucket Historical Society, in its vault adjacent to the Fair St. Friends' Meetinghouse. It was copied from an earlier volume 1716-1792, also in the same vault, and later used by the "Hicksite" Meeting from 1831 to 1844. Records for the intervening years dealing

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3.1

with those of later Hicksite persuation were entered from 1792 to 1831. This volume was apparently donated to the Historical Society in the early 20th cnetury, by a descendant of the last Hicksite Clerk.

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## CHAPTER ONE

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The best general source for American colonial Quaker history, ia Rufus M. Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931. James Bowden, History of the Society of Friends in America, London, Charles Gilpin, 1850, two volumes, is useful for specific data on 18th century Quaker personalities. Finally my own Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, Wallingford, Penna, Pendle Hill, 1944, offers as clear a check-list of superior Meetings in America as is to be found. William C. Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, London, Macmillan and Co., 1921, gives the clearest picture of British Quakerism from the death of Fox onwards till modern times. John Gough, History of the People called Quakers, Dublin, Robert Jackson, 1789, four volumes, serves as Bowden does to Jones in the American scene. As for Martha's Vineyard and its general background, Charles Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, Boston, 1911, two volumes, is the standard work. It contains genealogical material which dovetails with that in the standard Starbuck work. The best work by far on 17th century Nantucket is Florence B. Anderson, Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin, Boston, Meador Publishing House, 1940. The Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston has some useful material bearing on the early period. The Ms., "Order for arrest of certain persons attending a Quaker Meeting in Boston 16.I.1673/74" is useful for noting Stephen Hussey's Quakerism. Also there are notes by Franklin B. Hough on

B.M.
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Massachusetts documents to be found in the New York State Office in Albany, made in 1855. Similarly there is the letter of the Governor of Massachusetts to the Governor of New York, 26.VIII 1692. In the vault of the Nantucket Historical ~~Society~~ Museum is found the Ms., "Mary Starbuck Account Book with the Indians, begun in 1662, Nathaniel Jr. continued it", 1683-1768. The above title entry was made by Lydia (Starbuck) Macy in 1718 when she was but 14 years of age, when employed by her uncle. This is in effect the second volume, continued probably by Tristram after his father's death in 1753. With it is the unbound Ms., "Account Book for Nathaniel Starbuck Nr. Store", 1696-1735. Its pages contain an unexploited account of the growth of the early whaling industry - to which Mary Starbuck's account book (also unexploited) adds much more. There is also a Ms. account of the building of the "Parliament House" in this vault prepared by Lyman Greeman. The vault probably contains much of great value, but has been hardly catalogued. In the Town House on Nantucket are kept Mss. records which are similarly valuable. Volume one of the County Records, 1659-1768, contains the minutes of the Proprietary from 2.VII.1659 on the mainland, first on Nantucker 15.VII 1661. The first Town Meeting as such is listed from 1696 when William Gayer took office. This book is entitled "Records of Nantucket 1663 - ". "The Second Book of Records", 1660-1711, actually contains General Court proceedings from 1673 to 1698. It is followed by "The Book of Records commenced May 9, 1700", containing court records from 1701 to 1721. As with most 17th century Mss. records the contents must be thoroughly explored, as titles to books are often inaccurate. Finally attention might be drawn to a minor secondary source for the period; William F. Macy, Story of Old Nantucket, Cambridge, Mass., Riverside Press, 1928.

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## CHAPTER TWO

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This chapter like a number of others of a genealogical sort are the product of detailed family tables which I have worked up over a period of years, based upon the publications cited in the opening paragraph of this bibliographical ~~note~~ essay. ALLEN COFFIN. "COURTS OF NANTUCKET" IN Proceedings of NANTUCKET HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XVI, 1907 & 30, IS A USEFUL ADDITION.

## CHAPTER THREE

The estimated statistics on church membership in 1698 are taken largely from William W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942, using the Anglican report for 1701. The list of Monthly Meetings is drawn from research which I made in connection with developing my Yearly Meeting study. William B. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1891, is a turgid text, but contains much data not otherwise available. Roy Akagi, Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies, Philadelphia, Univ. of Penna Press, 1924, is useful in giving interpretation to this and other data from the point of view of local government. For material on Dartmouth Quakerism, the Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches offer some useful data, particularly number 70, Ann G. Lowry, "Quakers and their Meetinghouse at Apponegansett": less important, number 3, dealing with the Slocumb family. The Vital Records of Dartmouth to 1850, a single volume work similar but much smaller than the five volume work ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ on Nantucket offers some material on vital statistics. For Sandwich Quakerism, Ezra Stiles, "Origin of the Quakers at Sandwich, Massachusetts" in the Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, Philadelphia, VIII, is most useful. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia is to be found one Ms., "A catalogue of the names of Publick Friends who have visited Nantucket since the year 1698"; started by Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. in 1716, and kept after his death by other members of

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of his family. A number of copies of this list have been made. Two are to be found in the vault of the Nantucket Historical Museum. The older fell into the hands of the Gurneyite group of Friends in 1845 who used it only till 1848. The other was used by the Wilburite group till 1894 when the Meetinghouse was sold to the Historical Society. This list serves as the basic source of visitors. Others missed are sometimes listed in the minutes of the Monthly Meetings, or rarely in Mss, letters and such. Until 1760 or so the lack of Mss, diaries and journals is extraordinary. Thus the historian of this period has to search far afield for scraps of information by which to reconstruct the age. Reference to Thomas Turner and most of the British Friends who visited Nantucket is to be found in Joseph Besse, Collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, London, Luke Hinde, 1757, two volumes. Thomas Chalkley left his Journal of Thomas Chalkley, a Minister of of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Friends Book Store, N.D.; as did others; John Richardson, Account of the life of of that ancient servant of Jesus Christ, John Richardson, Philadelphia, William Dunlap, 1757; Thomas Story, Journal of the Life of Thomas Story, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Isaac Thompson, 1747. Piety Promoted, in seven volumes, edited by William and Thomas Evans, contains references to a number of visitors chiefly Philadelphians. This work was published in Philadelphia in the middle of the 19th century. Similar is John and Isaac Comly, Friends Miscellany, in eight volumes. More important is the Friends Library running to fifteen volumes, and in which six biographies apply to this chapter. This work was issued by a committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, (orthodox) at the same time. It can be observed that fully 90% of Quakeriana published in the United States is based on Philadelphia. For Rhode Island Friends, T.W. Arnold, Vital Records of Rhode Island to 1850, Narragansett Historical Publication, 1895, in three volumes is most useful, as is the W.P.A., Inventory of the Church Archives of Rhode Island, Society of Friends, Providence, R.I. 1939. Arnold's

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vital records were also published in Providence. In the Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, number 40, Mrs. William B. Buffum, "Story of the old Friends' Meetinghouse", gives background on the original sponsors of the Nantucket Meeting. Ebeneezer Slocumb was 19 when convinced of Friends' principles, 31 when Conanicut Meeting was founded, 46 at his first acquaintance when he first went to Nantucket, and 55 when he presented the request for a Monthly Meeting to be set up on the Island. Jacob Mott Sr. died in 1711, just as the first Quaker Meetinghouse was built on Nantucket, aged 78. His son Jacob Mott Jr. married Mary Easton, daughter of Gov. John in 1714, just as Gov. Walter Clarke died, aged 77. ~~dying~~ Joanna Mott died in 1728, while her son lived on till 1767, dying on a religious trip to the New York Y.M. area. John Estaugh died on Tortola in 1742 while visiting there. He was captured by pirates in the West Indies in 1705 in company with Ruth Fry (died a spinster in 1733) at the home of her sister Sarah (Fry) Leach.) Peleg Slocumb's father, Giles Slocumb, was one of the early pillars of Portsmouth R.I. Meeting founded in 1658, ~~and~~ which acquired its present Meetinghouse in 1707. That on Conanicut Island is likewise still in use, but the Newport Friends built a new structure in the 20th century deeding the old building, very much enlarged through the years to the city, which has used it as a recreation center. It is now being restored.

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## CHAPTER Four

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The Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia (now called Quaker History is a very useful source. Volume Seven contains an account of John Kinsey written by Isaac Sharpless. Volume Two contains some reference to "Some old families of Wrightstown Township" by W.P. Hazard. In the Nantucket Historical Society museum

[INSERT]

. IN 1970 I AGAIN SPENT THE SUMMER ON NANTUCKET. EDOUARD STACKPOLE PRESENTED ME WITH HIS FOURTH EDITION OF RAMBLING THROUGH THE STREETS AND LANES OF NANTUCKET, NEW BEDFORD, REYNOLDS-DE WALT PRINTING, 1969, WHICH I HAVE SINCE CAREFULLY CHECKED AGAINST EARLIER MATERIALS.

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are found some Mss. accounts of Nantucket houses. One such is Lyman ~~Grauman~~ Greeman's "Nantucket Houses of Historic Interest", 1943. More useful is Edward Stackpoles "Rambling through the old town of Nantucket". I spent the entire summer of ~~1946~~ 1947 on Nantucket, part of the time I checked the "ancestry" of dwellings with Edouard Stackpole. Less useful were personal contacts with Grace Brown Gardner and with Will Gardner. [INSERT] To cover general background for the age, I used the following: Oliver P. Chitwood, History of Colonial America, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1931; Smith, History of Nova-Caesarea or New Jersey, Philadelphia, W.S, Sharp, 1877: Stanard, Mary, Colonial Virginia its people and Customs, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1917: Albert B. Hart, Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, New York, States, 1928: Lawrence Gipson, Southern Plantations and Northern Plantations, Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton, 1946: and not least, Samuel Morison and Henry S. Commager, Growth of the American Republic, New York, O.U.P., 1942, Volume One. In the Quaker field attention should be drawn to Frederick B. Tolles, Meetinghouse and Countinghouse, Chapel Hill, U.N.C.P., 1948. Having noticed both microcosm and macrocosm at this point, attention should be turned to visitors again. For Fox's visit to the colonies, George Fox, Journal of George Fox, Cambridge, C.U.P, 1911 is best. Joseph ~~Gruckshank~~ Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, Philadelphia, Joseph Cruckshank, 1753, two volumes, is good for tracing obscure British names as is the smaller anonymous, Brief Account of many of the persecutions of the people called Quakers, London, J. Samuel, 1736. Samuel Bownas, Account of the life travels and Christion Experience in the work of the Ministry of Samuel Bownas, Philadelphia, William Dunlap, 1759, is an original source. Samuel Sewall, Diary, New York, Macy-Macius, 1927, is interesting for parallel Puritan activity. John Fothergill, Account of the Life and Travels in the work of the Ministry of John Fothergill, Philadelphia, James Chattin, 1754, is

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a less valuable work. John Rutty, History of the Rise and Progress ot the people called Quakers, Dublin, I. Jackson, 1751, is useful for Irish Friends. On some occasions the Proceddings of the Nantucket Historical Association throw light on this early period - for instance the 1922 issue does. The Philadelphia Friend is similar - note volume 28 number 34. Thirdly of similar usefulness is the Journal of Friends Historical Society, London, volume six. Finally for this chapter attention should be drawn to Zara Klain, Educational activities of New England Quakers, Philadelphia, N.P., 1927.

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CHAPTER Five

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This is a genealogical chapter - see note for Chapter Two - attention is however drawn to Appendix "A" in which an outline for the life of Mary (Coffin) Starbuck has been prepared.

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CHAPTER Six

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The two outstanding sources for Quaker activity on Nantucket are the Monthly Meeting books: viz. "Monthly Meeting Book of Friends", Volume I, 1708-~~xxxxxx~~ 1772, and "Monthly Meeting Book of Women Friends", volume I, 1708-1787, kept in the vault of the Nantucket Historical ~~Society~~ Museum. They are supplemented by other records kept at the John Carter Brown Library for rare publications on the campus of Brown University, Providence R.I. [INSERT] These include "Records of the Yearly Meeting of New England", Volume I, 1683-1787: "Records of Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders for New England", volume I, 1707-1797; "Records of Quarterly Meeting", volume I, 1706-1783; "Rhode

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Island Select Q.M.", volume I, 1701-1769. Apparently women Friends held no Yearly Meeting till well into the 18th century. The Ms "Minutes of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting", volume II, 1676-1739, kept at the Newport Historical Society are useful for tracing the extensive Nantucket connections in the early period. Apparently their women held no meetings of record till 1714. The minutes of Dartmouth, Greenwich and Sandwich M.Ms are in the main collection of Quaker records in Providence.

A good biography of George Keith, the anti-Quaker leader at this time is Ethyn W.Kirby, George Keith, New York, Appleton-Century, 1942. James W. Howes, Thomas Howes of Yarmouth, Mass., Yarmouthport, C.W.Swift, 1917, gives some of the Nantucket background with the Cape. The Journal of Friends Historical Society, London is useful for many biographical sketches, as is the large Dictionary of National Biography, A STANDARD American publication. At the Friends' Library in London are to be found extensive Mss collections, and a useful card catalogue of entries. Also in the minutes of London Y.M. (Mss.) are to be found the accounts of a number of Quaker visitors to Nantucket. William W. Hinshaw Encyclopaedia of American Genealogy is a massive work of some usefulness in tracing visitors. The Journal of F.H.A. XV, number 1 contains "The Travels of William Baldwin in America". For marriage records the Ms "Book of Marriage Certificates of Nantucket Monthly Meeting", volume I, 1709-1755 is very useful.

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## CHAPTER Seven

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Henry J. Cadbury, deals with John Farmers first American Journey, Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1944. Benjamin Holme left a Journal, Collection of the Epistles and Works of Benjamin Holme, London, Luke Hinde, 1754. Also my own - Robert

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J.Leach, "Quaker Intruders on Martha's Vineyard", Vineyard Gazette, 4.VIII.1942 (reprinted in the Vineyard ~~Gazetteer~~ Dukes County Intelligencer II, #2, 1963) is good for covering the Farmer-Holme period. Some articles in the Friends Intelligencer, Philadelphia, particularly "Then and Now", written by Henry J.Cadbury have been used. The Ms. "Genealogy of Gardner and allied families", still in the possession of Grace Brown Gardner of Nantucket offers some interest. Another less useful work is Orrin P.Allen, Allen Memorial, Palmer, C.B.Fiske & Co., N.D. Similar is Charles N.Sinnett, Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, Concord, Rumford Printing Press, N.D. Thomas Woody, Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey, Philadelphia. Univ. of Penna Press, 1923, gives data on a few visitors from that State. Similarly my own; Robert J.Leach, "Concord Q.M. of Ministers and Elders", Bulletin of F.H.A. Spring, 1949, covers some in Pennsylvania and Delaware. The London Y.M., Collection of Testamonies Covering Several Ministers of the Gospel, 1760, applies to British Friends. Lydia S.Hinchman, Early Settlers of Nantucket, Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1901, contains a printed list of visitors - somewhat incomplete. Obed Macy was the great collector of historical data on Nantucket. His immense amounts of unpublished materials stored in the Nantucket Historical Society vault need to be studied in extenso. The "Catalogue of the names of the publick Friends who have visited Nantucket since the year 1698" was started in 1716 by Nathaniel Starbuck. One copy is in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia, two in the Nantucket Historical Society. They fell into the hands of different branches of the Society in the 19th century, so end up with different ~~lists~~.

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CHAPTER Eight

Again a list of members - this chapters adds no additional sources.

Chapter Nine

Two Mss. items which were prepared by Annie (WING) Rose of Sandwich M.M. are useful for background material. They are entitled "Materials toward the history of Friends in New England" and "Account of Sandwich M.M." In the Atheneum on Nantucket a scrapbook prepared by Sanford has some interest. Samuel M. Dudley, Nantucket Centennial Celebration, Nantucket, R.B. Hussey, 1895, similarly. Charles H. Jones, Genealogy of the Redman Family, Philadelphia, Allen, Lane & Scott, 1886, gives some account of that Newport family. Another slight work is William C. Folger, Folger Family, N.P., N.D. Yet another is Charles Estes, Estes Genealogy 1097-1893, Salem, Eben Putnam, 1894. More impressive is Alexander S. Starbuck, History of the American Whale Fishery, N.P., 1878. Of great value is Edouard Stackpole, Sea-Hunters, New York, Bonanza Books, 1953. Paul Starbuck, "Account Book for the Keeping of Sheep on Nantucket" at the Nantucket Historical Society (Museum) needs further searching out. Elizabeth F. Barker, Barker Genealogy, New York. Frye, 1927, is of some value. Will Gardner, Coffin Saga, Cambridge, Riverside, 1949, is far more useful. Benjamin Holme, Collection of Epistles, London, Luke Hinde, 1754, evokes occasional interest. Similarly there is Silvanus J. Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, Albany, Munsell, 1868. James Coffin, "Probate Records", kept at the Nantucket Athaneum gives clue to estates and their settlement. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia, the only known letters of Nathaniel Starbuck are extant. Edward R. Snow, Pirates and Buccaneering, Boston, Yankee,

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1944, is most revealing. Much less value attaches to Harry B. Turner, Nantucket Argument Settlers, Nantucket, N.P., 1944. Finally Henry B. Worth, Nantucket Lands and Landowners, N.P., N.D. has more than marginal value. HENRY J. CADBURY, "NANTUCKET AND ITS QUAKERS IN 1722," Historic Proceedings Nantucket, 1946, #18. GIVES INTERESTING DATA ON NATHAN PRINCE. Historical Association

## CHAPTER Ten

Anna Hodgson, "Some Rhode Island Records" in the Bulletin of F.H.A., I, number 2, throws light on the increasing flow of visitors from the metropolitan center; as does Charles H. Jones, Genealogy of the Rodman Family, Philadelphia, Allen, Lane & Scott, 1886. New England Yearly Meeting, Memorials of Deceased Friends, Providence, Knowles & Vose, 1841 is a similar source. Alfred R. Justice, Jeremy Clark of Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Franklin Printing Co., N.D. is also parallel. The Ms., "New England Yearly Meeting Book of Testimonies", volume I, in the John Carter Brown Library offers other clues. One clear item is a Ms. letter of Timothy White, 3.IX.1731 in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. Allan Forbes, President of this Society was personally helpful in locating materials. For the Cape, Joshua C. Howes, Genealogy of the Howes Family, Yarmouthport, N.P., 1892 gives some light. The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, number 40, gives other clues. Harriet B. Warren, "Trustum and his grandchildren, Nantucket, N.P., 1881, is of limited appeal. At the Nantucket Town House the "Book for Registering Deeds", volume IV, begun in 1721, and similarly the "Book of Court Records", now come into play. IN QUAKER HISTORY VOLUME 59, #1 SPRING, 1970, P. ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO SAMUEL BOWNAS WRITING OF GROWTH OF QUAKER MINISTRY ON NANTUCKET.

CHAPTER Eleven

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The Ms book "Christian and Brotherly Advices", 1756 in the Museum vault on Nantucket is the source for Query materials. Earlier sources cited in previous chapters cover ~~xxx~~ other data.

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CHAPTER Twelve

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This is a genealogical chapter. Attention is drawn to Appendix B, which consists of a sketch of the life of Stephen Coffin Jr. the fourth minister of Nantucket Meeting to die.

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CHAPTER Thirteen

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The only account of Nantucket Meetinghouses is my own, "First two Quaker Meetinghouses on Nantucket", Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association, ~~xx~~ 1951, p. 24-33. See Appendix D for sketches regarding these buildings. The most available source for Elihu Coleman's anti-slavery pamphlet is Thomas E. Drake, "Elihu Coleman, Quaker Anti-slavery Pioneer of Nantucket", in Brinton, Howard, Byways in Quaker History, Pendle Hill, 19 4.

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CHAPTER Fourteen

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The first volume of Probate Records, "Probate Records for Nantucket County" 1706-1736 is most useful to give clue to family estates on the Island. This volume is kept in the Town House, as is "The Towns Book of Records for to enter Births, Marriages and Deaths" - in point of fact covers Town Meetings from 1696 to 1783.

The registers of Deeds are mostly unexplored Vol. III, 1701-1721, and Vol. IV, 172 - 1740. The Court Book 1721-1785 is also of great interest. I have used it extensively.

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